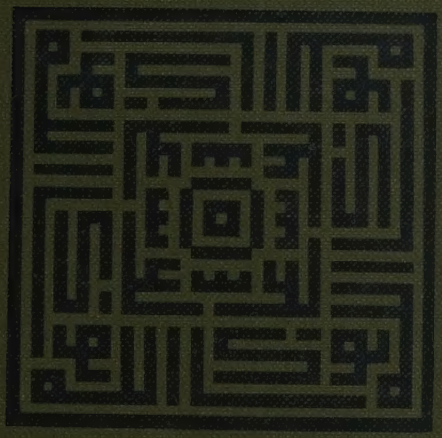
THE DISINTEGRATION OF ISLAM

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER



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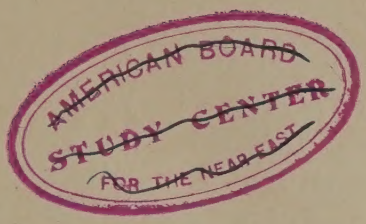
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THE DISINTEGRATION OF ISLAM

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BY

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF

"Childhood in the Moslem World," "Arabia, the Cradle of Islam," "The Moslem Christ," "Zig-Zag Journeys in the Camel Country," "Topsy-Turvy Land," etc., etc.

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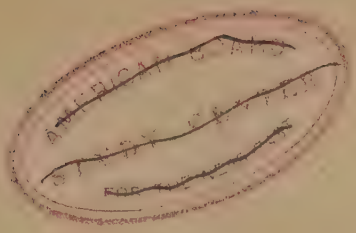

THESE lectures were delivered in Miller Chapel, Princeton Theological Seminary, October, 1915. They were subsequently also delivered at the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in America, New Brunswick, N. J.; and at the Theological Seminary of the American Mission, Cairo, Egypt.

53982

"The harvest is not benefited by confounding weeds with wheat. Harmony is not enhanced by a premature recourse to synthesis, before due scope has been given to discriminating analysis. God is not honoured by attributing to His causation what He only overrules, in working out His sovereign designs. God is greater in permitting the exercise of free action, even if opposed to His own will, and in yet finally accomplishing His purpose, than if He were to exercise His sovereignty to the extent of rendering every counter-current impossible, and monopolizing the whole channel of history by the unchecked flow of His own volition."—S. W. KOELLE: "Mohammed and Mohammedanism."

"It surely is altogether false, if some, in modern times, assert that Islam has a mission in this world, namely, of serving as a preparation of idolatrous nations for the faith in the one true God. History most positively contradicts this assertion. Islam has never operated to prepare the way for Christianity, and least does so today."—C. H. SCHARLING of Copenhagen.

PREFACE

From heaven fought the stars,
From their courses they fought against Sisera.
That river Kishon swept them away,
The ancient river, the river Kishon.
O my soul, march on with strength.
—The Song of Deborah.—Judges 5:20-22.

LIKE all other non-Christian systems and philosophies Islam is a dying religion; from the outset it had in it the germs of death—neither the character of the Koran nor of its Prophet have in them the promise or potency of life that will endure. Even Carlyle, whose "The Hero as Prophet" is often quoted as an apology for Islam, admitted this. In his lecture on "The Hero as Poet" he said: "It was intrinsically an error that notion of Mahomet's, of his supreme Prophethood; and has come down to us inextricably involved in error to this day; dragging along with it such a coil of fables, iniquities, intolerances, as makes it a questionable step for me here and now to say, as I have done, that Mahomet was a true Speaker at all, and not rather an ambitious charlatan, perversity and simulacrum; no Speaker, but a Babbler! Even in Arabia, as I compute, Mahomet will have exhausted himself and become obsolete, while this Shakspeare,

this Dante may still be young. . . . His Koran has become a stupid piece of prolix absurdity; we do not believe, like him, that God wrote that!"

Moreover, at the present time there are in Islam many evidences of decay. In 1899, a company of delegates from the Moslem world assembled in Mecca and gave fourteen days to investigate the causes for the decay of Islam. Fifty-seven reasons were given, including fatalism, the opposition of science, the rejection of religious liberty, neglect of education and inactivity due to the hopelessness of the cause itself. A leading Moslem editor in India wrote in 1914:—"We see that neither wealth nor 'education' nor political power can enable the Muslims to achieve their national salvation. Where then lies the remedy? Before seeking the remedy we must ascertain the disease. But the Muslims are not diseased, they have reached a worse stage. A diseased man has still life in him."

We find the same note of despair in the recent volume of essays by an educated Indian Moslem, S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A. He speaks of the "hideous deformity" of Moslem society and of "the vice and immorality, the selfishness, self-seeking, and hypocrisy which are corrupting it through and through." Those who live among Moslems and read Moslem newspapers and

books are more and more surprised that Islam itself is not conscious of its strength but of its weakness and decay, and that everywhere Moslems are bemoaning a day of opportunity that is lost. The Moslem pulpit and the Moslem press in the great centres of Islam unite in a wail of despair. "O ye servants of God," said a Cairo preacher last year, "the time has come for Moslems to look after their affairs and to regard their religion and conduct as a sick man looks toward his remedy and the man who is drowning toward dry land."

Moslems have long realized that the dead weight of formality called tradition, the accumulation of many centuries, is an intolerable burden. Frantic efforts have been made in many quarters to save the ship by throwing overboard much of this cargo. Others in their despair have sought for a new pilot. Messiahs and Mahdis have arisen and founded new sects or started new movements. The progress of western civilization and its impact has been felt everywhere in the economic and social life of Islam. We must add to all this the utter collapse of Moslem political power in Africa, Europe, and Asia. The stars from their courses are fighting against Sisera, and the future is dark for those who believe that Islam is the hope of the world. We, however, believe that when the crescent wanes the Cross will prove

dominant, and that the disintegration of Islam is a divine preparation for the evangelization of Moslem lands and the winning of Moslem hearts to a new allegiance. Jesus Christ is sufficient for them as He is for us. "When that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away."

The purpose of the lectures here given is distinctly missionary, and in setting forth the present-day conditions and needs of these millions, many of whom are groping toward the light, our prayer is that the message may lead to the surrender of life for the work of missions. From all the seminaries where these lectures were given a number of graduates have already gone to the forefront of the battle in the Moslem world, in Syria, Persia, India, Arabia, Egypt, North Africa, and China. Their unfinished task awaits fulfilment.

S. M. Z.

Cairo, Egypt.

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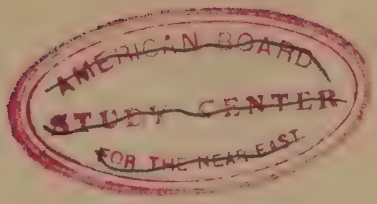


I

THE DEAD WEIGHT OF TRADITION

"The entire *Dar ul Islam*, or Islamic community, disunited and dismembered for generations, has now sunk into such a state of spiritual torpor and political impotence that, apart from fitful outbursts of fanaticism and spasmodic paroxysms of savagery, any serious aggressions against Christian nations are out of the question, and the signs of its approaching complete disintegration are rapidly multiplying. If in some far-off places, such as the continent of Africa, Islam has of late been spreading to some extent; this has been effected by the notorious means of its propagandism, and can only remind one of those sparse green twigs sometimes still appearing at the extreme ends of half-dried-up boughs in trees whose core has for long been decaying from old age."—S. W. KOELLE: "Mohammed and Mohammedanism."

I

THE DEAD WEIGHT OF TRADITION

And it came to pass the same night, that Jehovah said unto him, Arise, get thee down into the camp; for I have delivered it into thy hand. But if thou fear to go down, go thou with Purah thy servant down to the camp: and thou shalt hear what they say; and afterward shall thy hands be strengthened to go down into the camp.—JUDGES 7: 9-11.

THE yoke of Islam is not easy and its burden is not light. A religion of ritual and outward forms always demands punctilious observance from its devotees. Its demands, if not high as regards moral standards, are heavy with cumbrous detail and constant repetition. The daily round and common task of a respectable Britisher in London would be wholly disarranged, nay, become almost impossible, were he to follow the religious practices laid down as imperative in any book of Fiqh. Yet it is this burden of outward observances and rigorous conformity to puerile detail which rests on far the greater part of the Moslem world, and which David Livingstone called the "dead weight" of Islam. Even those who have great hopes that Islam can be

reformed, like the Dutch scholar, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje, admit this. In his lectures at Columbia University he said:

"Nothing could be more inconceivably remote than Mecca. It represents the Islam of centuries ago. The houses are impossible. All the conveniences to which we are accustomed—light, heat, water—are as they were in the Dark Ages. But one who has not been to Mecca, who has not lived there in Mohammedan households and studied at the Mosques, cannot understand Islam. My sojourn in Mecca for eight months was like transposition into a city of the twelfth or thirteenth century."

Perhaps ninety per cent of the Moslem world still lives under such conditions in this Dark Age. For them it is the Age, not of reformed Islam, but of primitive belief and practice. The reformed Mohammedan, like the reformed Jew, has practically discarded the religion of his fathers, but he is in the minority. The orthodox Moslem is still bound hand and foot in the grave clothes of Tradition. By tradition they understand the record of what Mohammed said and did or allowed.

What the Talmud is to Judaism that tradition, i.e., the *hadith* or *sunna,* is to Mohammedanism. One may as well expect to know what Christianity in Mexico or in Spain is like by a careful study of the New Testament as to

learn the real character of Islam among the masses in lands like Morocco, Egypt, and China, from the text of the Koran. It is well known that orthodox Moslems speak of the sources of their religion, or the authorities on which it is based, as four: the Koran, Tradition, *ijmâ* and *kiyas*. *Ijmâ* is the unanimous consent of the leading companions concerning any teaching based on the Koran or on tradition: while *kiyas* consists of deductions made by orthodox teachers concerning questions that are in doubt, by analogy, or, as Moslems express it, the opinions of the learned concerning that which is not mentioned in the Koran nor tradition by the analogy of questions that are mentioned. The Koran is called the verbal revelation (*Wahi el Matlu*); tradition is called *Wahi gheir el Matlu*.

The first thing that surprises us in studying the vast subject of Moslem tradition is the immense number of collections of these sayings of the Prophet. There are said to be 1,465 collections of traditions, but fortunately only six of them are counted classical or standard by the orthodox school, namely, Muslim, Bokhari, Tirmizi, Abu Daoud, An-Nasaei, and Ibn Majah. Abu Daoud, one of their number, states in his massive work that he received as trustworthy only 4,800 traditions out of 500,000. Yet these traditions have the highest authority in Islam. According to Canon Sell, " An Or-

thodox Moslem places the Gospel in the same rank as the Hadith; that is, he looks upon them as a record of what Jesus said and did, handed down to us by His companions." There is not a single Moslem sect, Shiah or Sunni, that looks to the Koran only as the rule of faith and practice. Islam has never had a real Protestant movement in this direction. Not only are the five duties of pious Moslems carefully described in these collections of tradition, but their whole interpretation of the creed, of jurisprudence, and of the Koran itself, are based on its authority.

It is not surprising that tradition should have had such power in the conservative East, and especially in Arabia. Even before the *Hejira,* Goldziher tells us, it was considered a virtue to follow the *sunna* of one's forefathers. When Islam came it was no longer possible to follow the customs of heathen ancestors. Every believer now took the conduct of the Prophet as a model for himself in all the affairs of life. First of all, they followed the practice of the Companions of the Prophet who had themselves witnessed his actions and heard his words. Later on they had to be satisfied with the *tabi'un,* or successors; in following generations they spoke of the successors of the successors. Every tradition accepted by Moslems necessarily retains this form of personal state-

INTERIOR OF MAIN COURT, EL AZHAR UNIVERSITY, CAIRO.
Showing the dilapidated condition of the building.

ment and consists of two parts. The first part is called the *isnad* or support, namely, the list of names on which the tradition is based, its pedigree. The second is called the *matn,* or actual text of the tradition quoted.

Notwithstanding the severe warning given by Mohammed himself, regarding the invention or corruption of tradition, many spurious traditions have been handed down. Out of 40,000 persons whose names are recorded in Moslem books as handing down traditions, Al-Bokhari acknowledges only 2,000 as reliable. Accordingly nineteen-twentieths of these men were liars in his opinion. Moslem criticism in regard to this course of authority has been from the outset only external, and has never troubled itself about the text, although in a measure it criticised the *isnad,* or list of authorities. Their principle of criticism even here was unsound, for they were most particular in rejecting all doubtful characters of the second and third generation, but never doubted the veracity of the Companions of the Prophet. Abu Huraira, Ibn Abbas, and Anas bin Malik are the chief authorities collected in Bokhari. According to Prince Leone Caetani 4,000 out of the 7,000 traditions are referred to them. Yet Ibn Abbas was only thirteen years old when Mohammed died, and how could he remember in detail and relate at random thousands of tradi-

tions in regard to the public and private life of the Prophet? In regard to Abu Huraira, even his real name is unknown to Moslems and the surname, "Father of the Little Cat," is supposed to have been given him on account of his tenderness to cats. He is said to have had an infallible memory and died at the age of seventy-eight. The inexhaustible stock of his information aroused suspicion as to his trustworthiness, even among Moslems. Spranger calls him the extreme of pious humbug; but we must perhaps defend him in a measure, as many of his sayings were attributed to him by later collectors of tradition. As for Anas ibn Malik, according to his own statement he was only ten years old at the time of the battle of Badr, and died at Busrah, some say, at the age of ninety-seven and some say a hundred and seven years. His reputation as a traditionist is none of the highest, and Abu Hanifa, the founder of one of the schools of theology in Islam, refused to acknowledge his authority. If this is the character of the three leading traditionists, we may judge of the remainder, who came after them and were even more audacious in the manufacture of tradition.

A whole science of so-called criticism of the *isnad* has arisen in Islam. With reference to the character of those who handed down traditions, they are classified as follows:

Hadith-es-Sahih, a *genuine* tradition, is one which has been handed down by truly pious persons who have been distinguished for their integrity: *Hadith-el-Hasan,* a *mediocre* tradition, is one the narrators of which do not approach in moral excellence to those of the Sahih class; *Hadith-ed-Da'if,* a *weak* tradition, is one whose narrators are of questionable authority.

With reference to the original narrators there are also three classes: *Hadith-el-Marfu,* an *exalted* tradition, is a saying or an act, related or performed by the Prophet himself and handed down in a tradition; *Hadith-el-Mauquf,* a *restricted* tradition, is a saying or an act, related or performed by one of the *ashab,* or Companions of the Prophet; Hadith-el-Maqtu', an *intersected* tradition, is a saying or an act related or performed by one of the *Tabi'un,* or those who conversed with the Companions of the Prophet.

Finally, traditions are also divided according to the *manner* in which they have been transmitted. *Hadith-el-Mutawatir,* an *undoubted* tradition, is one which is handed down by very many distinct chains of narrators; *Hadith-el-'Aziz,* a *rare* tradition, is one related by one or two lines of narrators; *Hadith-el-Gharib,* a *poor* tradition, is one related by only one narrator; *Khabar-el-wahid,* a *single* saying, is a term also used for a tradition related by *one* person and handed down by *one* line of narrators. It is a

disputed point whether a *Khabar Wahid* can form the basis of Moslem doctrine; *Hadith-el-Mursal* is a tradition which any collector of traditions, such as Al-Bokhari and others, records with the assertion, "*the apostle of God said*": *Riwayah* is a hadith which commences with the words "*it is related,*" without the authority being given; *Hadith-el-Mauzu'*, an *invented* tradition, is one the *untruth* of which is beyond dispute. This did not prevent its preservation and publication however!

Because of such careful classification no Moslem who considers himself orthodox will doubt any statement that has been accepted by one of the six great authorities, especially Al-Bokhari. He even uses this for oath like the Koran. To what extent the bondage to tradition remains can be judged from the statement made by Sheikh Feroz-ud-Din Murad, Assistant Professor of Physics at Aligarh College, India. One would think that a scientist should have a somewhat critical mind even in matters of religion. In an article on the "Precepts and Practices of the Prophet of Islam," however, he writes:

"With the purest of intentions, Imam Bukhari did his best to criticize dispassionately and calmly the character of the narrators and the subject-matter of the *Ahadis,* with a view to get at the perfectly genuine

and correct *Ahadis*. For us and our successors the task of sifting the truth about *Ahadis* has been very much shorn of its difficulties. Believing that Sahih Bukhari has deservedly secured the verdict of 'the most correct book next to the Holy Quran,' our duty is always to keep in view that none save the prophets of God are innocent and free from errors, and then to believe in the truth of any of the *Ahadis* pronounced correct by Imam Bukhari only so long as we do not possess solid grounds for doubting the correctness of his investigation."

At the great Azhar University the place occupied by the study of tradition is characteristically supreme. Nearly one-half of their large library consists of collection of tradition and commentaries on the same. Four extensive commentaries on the traditions of Al-Bokhari have been printed, one of them in eleven volumes. For beginners they print a synopsis of all the important traditions, and these popular manuals have a large circulation. One can perhaps get the best idea of Bokhari's work from the table of contents of the first volume of Houdas' French translation (Paris, 1903):

"1. How Mohammed's Revelation began.
2. Faith.
3. Science ('Ilm).
4. Ablutions.
5. Washings.

6. Menstruation.
7. Washing with Sand.
8. Prayer.
9. The Hours of Prayer.
10. The Call to Prayer.
11. Friday Worship.
12. Prayers in Case of Danger.
13. The Two Moslem Feasts.
14. Interrupted Prayer.
15. Supplication.
16. Eclipses.
17. Prostrations during the Reading of the Koran.
18. On the Abridgment of Prayer.
19. Night Prayer.
20. The Benefit of Prayer in the Mosque at Mecca.
21. Category of Acts Permitted during Prayer.
22. Distractions in Prayer.
23. Funerals.
24. Alms.
25. Pilgrimage.
26. On Visiting Medina.
27. Hindrances to Pilgrimage.
28. The Expiation for Wrong Acts during the Pilgrimage.
29. The Merits of Al-Medina.
30. Fasting.
31. Prayer in Ramadhan.
32. The Excellence of the Night of Destiny.
33. Spiritual Meditation."

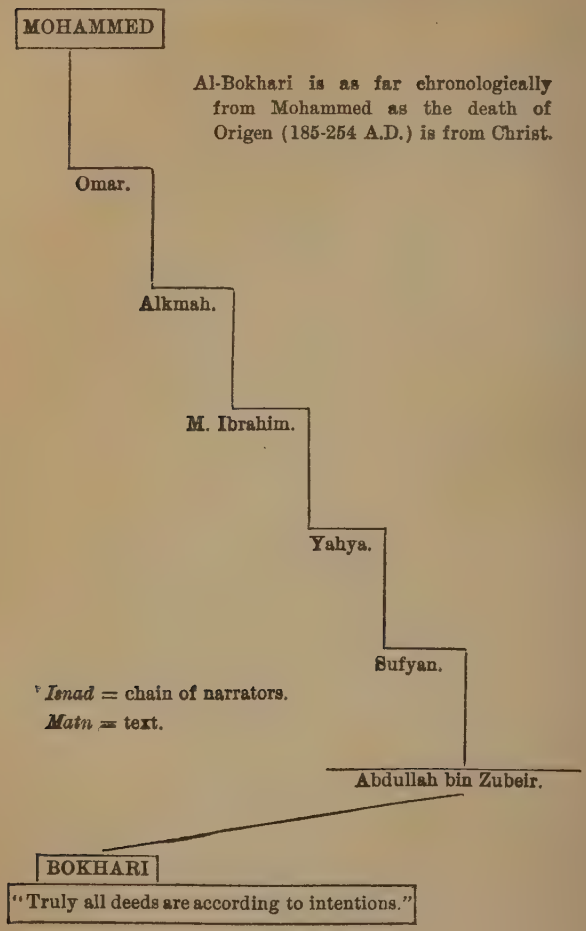
So much for the first volume of Al-Bokhari. The other volumes deal with the Moslem Ritual

and Practice, Military Expeditions, The Interpretation of the Koran, Marriage, Divorce, and kindred subjects. The first tradition given in Al-Bokhari is as follows and may be considered typical of all the rest:

El Humaida Abdullah bin Zubeir related to us that Sufyan told him that Yahya bin Saeed el Ansari said, I was told by Mohammed ibn Ibrahim that he heard Alkmah the son of Wakas-al-Lethi saying, I heard Omar bin Khattab (God bless him) in the pulpit saying, I heard the apostle of God (upon him be prayer and peace) say: "*Truly all deeds are according to intentions.*"[1]

In addition to all the classes of tradition and their divisions here given there is yet another class. So far we have considered the words of Mohammed, his actions or his permissions. There are collections of traditions, however, called *hadith kudsi* which are supposed to be the actual word of God, although not found in the Koran. Instead of beginning, "So said the prophet," they begin, "God said." Here is an example: "God said (to Him be praise and glory), 'O son of Adam, lay up for yourself good store for the way is long; and strengthen the saddlegear, for the road is deep; and make your work perfect, for the Judge is stern; and

[1] This tradition is considered one of the four fundamental traditions of Islam and is inscribed over the Gate of the Barbers at the Azhar mosque.


MOHAMMED
Al-Bokhari is as far chronologically from Mohammed as the death of Origen (185-254 A.D.) is from Christ.
Omar.
Alkmah.
M. Ibrahim.
Yahya.
Sufyan.
Isnad = chain of narrators.
Matn = text.
Abdullah bin Zubeir.
BOKHARI
"Truly all deeds are according to intentions."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

١ باب

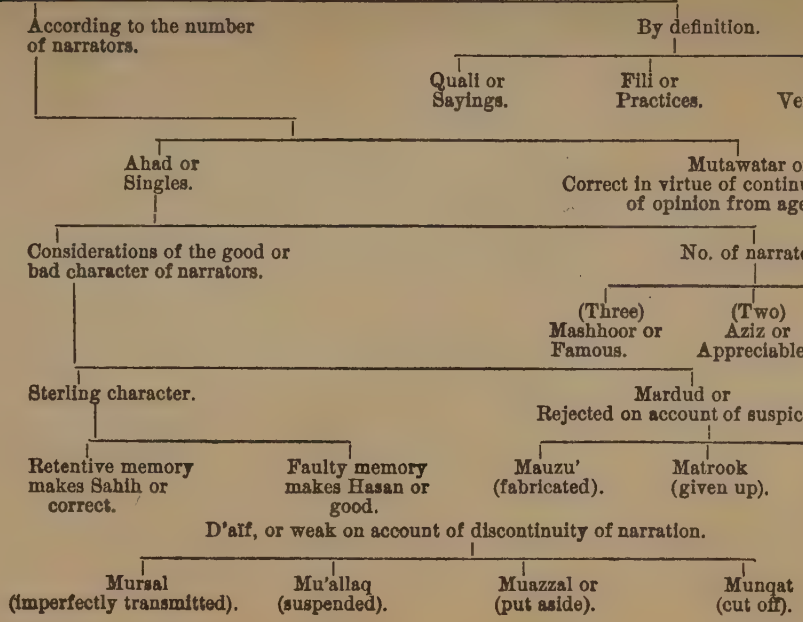
كيف كان بدو الوحى الى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وقول الله عز وجل

إِنَّا أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ كَمَا أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَى نُوحٍ وَالنَّبِيِّينَ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ،

١ حدثنا الحُمَيْدِيُّ قال حدثنا سُفْيٰن قال حدثنا يَحْيَى بنُ سَعيد الأنصارىُّ قال أخبرنى محمّدُ بن ابرهيم التَّيْمِىُّ أنّه سمع عَلْقَمَةَ بن وَقّاص اللَّيْثِىَّ يقول سمعتُ عُمَرَ ابن الخَطّاب رضى الله عنه على المِنْبر يقول سمعتُ رسولَ الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم يقول إنّما الأعْمالُ بالنّيّات وإنّما لِكُلِّ امْرِئٍ ما نَوَى فَمَنْ كانت هِجْرَتُه إلى دُنْيا يُصيبُها أو إلى امْرأة يَنْكحُها فَهِجْرَتُه الى ما هاجَرَ اليه، ٢ حدثنا عبدُ الله بن يُوسفَ قال أخبرنا مالكٌ عن هشام بن عُرْوَةَ عن أبيه عن عائشة أمّ المؤمنين أنّ الحارث بن هشام سأل رسولَ الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال يا رسولَ الله كَيْف يأتيك الوَحْىُ فقال رسولُ الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أحْيانًا يأتينى مثلَ صَلْصَلَة الجَرَس وهو أشَدُّه علىَّ فيُفْصَمُ عنّى وقد وَعَيتُ عنه ما قال وأحْيانًا يَتمثَّل لى المَلَكُ رَجُلًا فيُكَلِّمُنى فأَعِى ما يقول قالت عائشةُ ولقدْ رأيتُه يُنْزَل عليه الوحىُ فى اليوم الشديد البَرْد فيَفْصِم عنه وإنّ جَبينَه لَيَتفصَّدُ عَرَقًا، ٣ حدثنا يحيى بن عبد الله بن بُكَيْر قال حدثنا اللَّيْثُ عن عُقَيْل عن ابن شهاب عن عُرْوَةَ بن الزُّبَيْر عن عائشة أمّ المؤمنين أنّها قالت

Facsimile reproduction of a page from a modern edition of Al Bokhari, showing tradition quoted on page 27.

A GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE VARIOUS KINDS OF TRADITION.


According to the number of narrators.
By definition.
Quali or Sayings.
Fili or Practices.
Taqriri Verbal Approval.
Ahad or Singles.
Mutawatar or Correct in virtue of continuous consensus of opinion from age to age.
Considerations of the good or bad character of narrators.
No. of narrators.
(Three) Mashhoor or Famous.
(Two) Aziz or Appreciable.
(One) Gharib or Poor.
Sterling character.
Mardud or Rejected on account of suspicious character.
Retentive memory makes Sahih or correct.
Faulty memory makes Hasan or good.
Mauzu' (fabricated).
Matrook (given up).
Munkar (discarded).
D'aif, or weak on account of discontinuity of narration.
Mursal (imperfectly transmitted).
Mu'allaq (suspended).
Muazzal or (put aside).
Munqat (cut off).

shun the fire by hating infidels and loving the righteous, for God will not suffer the wages of the just to be lost.' "

The following tradition shows at once the puerile character of these collections and the attempt made at every turn to glorify Mohammed and Islam. On page 76 of "Akhbar-el-Kudsiya," a popular book of traditions sold in Cairo, it is related "on the authority of Wahab bin Munabah (may God bless him) that he said: 'When God created Adam (upon him be peace) and breathed in him of His Spirit, he opened his eyes and looked from the door of paradise and saw Mecca and over it these words, "There is no god but God and Mohammed is God's apostle." So he said, "O Lord, you have created some one more dear to you than I." Then said the Most Glorious, "Yes, O Adam, and he is the prophet of your seed whom I will send in the last days with signs and wonders. He is the best of the prophets and his people the best of all nations." And when God created Eve and made Adam desirous to meet her, Adam exclaimed, "O Lord, marry me to her" and God Most High said, "Give her dowry." And Adam said, "O Lord, what is her dowry?" And He said, "That you pray for the possessor of this name Mohammed a hundred times, and then I will marry her to you." So Adam prayed a hundred times for the

prophet (upon whom be peace), and God married him to Eve.' "

It is impossible to understand or to interpret the character of Moslem tradition without realizing two things. First, that this mass of so-called learning touches every article of the Moslem faith and practice, deals with every detail of home life, trade, politics, war, jurisprudence; that it is, in fact, an encyclopedia of correct conduct and right opinion on every possible subject. In this respect Moslem tradition is like the Jewish Talmud. Again it must be remembered that, because of the character of Mohammed, and still more because of that of his Companions, and the emphasis laid upon slavery, polygamy, concubinage, and divorce as privileges for believers, Moslem tradition is in part unutterably vile in its character. A portable collection of Moslem traditions which has great vogue in India, as well as in North Africa, is the "Mishkat-ul-Masabih," compiled by Al-Baghawi. This was translated verbatim into English by Captain Matthews, and privately printed at Calcutta. A French translation of Al-Bokhari was also made, which is in most respects literal; yet both of these translations are in sections as objectionable to the general reader as the worst portions of Burton's unexpurgated " Arabian Nights."

One begins to understand something of the degradation, social and moral, that exists in the Moslem world, of the low ideals and the pitiful condition of its womanhood and childhood, when we realize the effect of this dead weight upon social institutions for the past thirteen centuries. Every practice indulged in as regards the seclusion of women is based upon Moslem tradition as interpreting the few verses of the Koran that deal with the subject. The traditions tell us how the immorality of men and the untrustworthiness of women were interpreted by the prophet, and he, whom they knew as the apostle of God, has, by his example with his thirteen wives, in furnishing each of them a house by herself at Medina, been the model down the centuries. The ignorance of Moslem womanhood, her illiteracy and the burden of superstition that results are also due most of all to Moslem tradition. The following quotations are a sufficient index to a mass of material on this subject:

"I have not left any calamity more detrimental to mankind than woman."

"A bad omen is found in a woman, a house, or a horse."

"Do not visit the houses of men when they are absent from their homes, for the devil circulates within you like the blood in your veins. It was said,

'O Prophet, in your veins also?' He replied, 'My veins also. But God has given me power over the devil and I am free from wickedness.' ''

''Two women must not sit together, because the one may describe the other to her husband, so that you may say the husband had seen her himself.''

''Do not follow up one look at a woman with another: for verily the first look is excusable, but the next is unlawful.''

All the traditions that deal with Mohammed's military expeditions are an eternal blot on his legislation, and it is these traditions that have formed the code of military law for Moslems even to the day of the Armenian massacres and the recent war. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole states the facts very clearly and without prejudice when he writes:

''Kind as the prophet was himself towards bondswomen, one cannot forget the unutterable brutalities which he suffered his followers to inflict upon conquered nations in the taking of slaves. The Muslim soldier was allowed to do as he pleased with any 'infidel' woman he might meet on his victorious march. When one thinks of the thousands of women, mothers and daughters, who must have suffered untold shame and dishonour by this license, he cannot find words to express his horror. And this cruel indulgence has left its mark on the Muslim character, nay, on the whole character of Eastern life.''

Another evil due to the traditions that deal with family life is the entire lack of social fellowship between man and woman. Such social intercourse is naturally greatly limited by the laws of seclusion, by the use of the veil, by the practice of polygamy, and of divorce, but even where close kinship or relationship, or, in many cases, monogamy, would permit such fellowship, it is very rarely found. The Moslem woman has not been able to rise above the position assigned to her in orthodox tradition except under protest. What Dr. Charles R. Watson says in regard to Egypt is true of every Moslem land:

"Egypt's social system is the deliberate creation of rigid, unbending, unchanging Islamic law. The effort is made periodically, but uniformly without success, to show that what we call Moslem social life is not an integral part of the Mohammedan religion. But Islam is not only a religion; it is a political system and it is also a social life. Changes effected in the political or social worlds of a Moslem people are invariably effected at the expense of loyalty to the religion of Islam."

How pathetic is the appeal of a child that recently appeared in an Egyptian daily, *Al Ahram,* on May 23, 1915:

"Dear Editor: Will you hear the plea of one who has just completed her twelfth year, and who is in the third year of her studies in the primary schools. My family belongs to the class who are in government employ, and my parents have already warned me that after a few months I shall be put in seclusion, to wear the veil, and must leave the school and my studies. You will not be surprised that I have already read in your paper the articles that have appeared on this subject. So it occurred to me that perhaps you would also publish my letter. I love learning very much, and if I had been secluded two years ago it would not have been possible for me to have learned anything, nor would I then have realized the evils of the veil, but now I speak from experience. The least of its evils—perhaps the greatest to me—is that it will deprive me from going to school. How can those therefore who criticize the freedom of women blame me for speaking out? If they were in my place and could feel as I feel, they would change their views, without doubt; and I write to you now because I feel already the weight of the prison before whose doors I am standing. I am stealing these few minutes without the knowledge of any of my family, that my weak voice may reach the multitudes, for I cannot conceive the whirlwind of anger that would strike me should my father know that I have written to you. This is all that I write now, but if I should be secluded and compelled to wear the veil, I will doubtless know more and suffer more personally, and then I will write again. All I can do is to ask every writer who has a conscience

on the subject to support the request of those who seek liberty, and I thank those two who have written in your columns: for they have encouraged me to write myself, in order that there may be liberty for the Egyptian women from the yoke of bondage.

"Written from school.

"(Signed) SPRING FLOWER."

Not only has Moslem tradition a dominating influence on home life with such results as have been described, but many of the physical evils found in the Moslem world are directly due to the teaching of the Prophet, as handed down in tradition. There are large collections entitled "Tib-en-Nebawi," which give all Mohammed's talk on the subject of health, disease, household remedies, and surgery. Dr. Karl Opitz, in "Die Medizin im Koran," deals with the subject of the Koran's teaching on medicine and hygiene. He does not enter into the larger field of tradition, but as in this case the various traditions are linked to the passages contained in the Koran, it is interesting to note his conclusions.

First of all he indicates that Mohammed's knowledge of medicine and hygiene, not to speak of embryology, was largely due to one of his friends, El Harith bin Kalida, who might be called Mohammed's Luke. The ideas promulgated in the Koran have been fixed for ever be-

cause it is a divine revelation. This is especially shown to be the case regarding his unscientific statements concerning conception, birth, weaning, etc. The last is postponed, according to Mohammed's revelation, for two years (Surah 2:233). He gives curious instances of errors in anatomy, such as the connection between the heart and the windpipe (Surah 56:82), and the composition of milk and blood (Surah 16:68). Both the practice of astrology and the using of charms for the evil eye found their foundations in the Koran, and superstitious efficacy is ascribed to honey as a panacea (Surah 16:17). Although the legislation as regards clothing, sleep, the bath, and food, are generally hygienic, and we can specially commend the prohibition of alcohol, the fatalistic teaching as regards epidemics is pointed out. Dr. Opitz shows that the whole Moslem system, as based upon the practice and teaching of the prophet, is utterly opposed to eugenics, and the position assigned to womanhood has had its terrible effect upon Mohammedan peoples everywhere. And all who have read the popular books containing Mohammed's table-talk on health and disease and cure will see that in these traditions, whether rightly or wrongly attributed to the Prophet, we have the *fons et origo malorum* and the only explanation of much that is evil from a medical standpoint

in the world of Islam. "The longer I work among Moslem women," said Dr. Christine I. Bennett of Arabia, "the more strongly it is being impressed on my mind what a large proportion of the physical ills met with are due directly or indirectly to the influence of Islam." Child marriage is an example. Did not the Prophet himself marry Aisha when she was seven, some say nine, years old? "The most glaring evil," writes Dr. Brigstocke of Palestine, "from a medical standpoint, that strikes the observer is one which surely is due to Islam, or is at any rate perpetuated by it, and that is child marriage, by which I mean not so much the marriage of children to one another—though that is common—but the marriage of little girls to men many years their seniors. The saddest cases one has to treat in this land of sad cases are those of little girls, who ought to be enjoying games and school life, seriously injured, if not maimed for life, as a result of this horrible practice. A recent case is an instance of cruelty coupled with the custom of child marriage, in which the poor little wife was left to suffer prolonged agonies rather than call a doctor, as the result of which she has spent over a year in one hospital or another, where everything that held out any hope of cure has been done, but with little benefit."

THE CEREMONY OF EL DAUSA, CAIRO, 1880.

One of the old-time practices of the Moslem dervishes consisted in the head of the Order riding on horseback over the outstretched bodies of Moslems who were supposed not to be injured by this performance. It took place in Cairo for the last time in 1880, when this photograph was taken. The ceremony was abolished by the government. A description is found in Lane's "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," page 456.

Another sphere in which tradition has had its immense influence is that of belief *in the spirit world,* the teaching of Mohammed in regard to jinn, afarit, the evil eye, and the methods to be used to guard against them. The last two chapters in the Koran were revealed on this subject, and there are thousands of traditions in regard to it. Charms, amulets, necromancy, geomancy, and many forms of exorcism, including some adopted from heathenism, like the *Zar,* are prevalent in the world of Islam. Mohammed was a believer in the baneful influence of the evil eye. We read in tradition that 'Asma bint 'Umais relates that she said, "O Prophet, the family of Ja'far are affected by the baneful influences of an evil eye; may I use spells for them or not?" The Prophet said, "Yes, for if there were anything in the world which would overcome fate, it would be an evil eye." ("Mishkat," Book XXI, Chap. I, part 2.) Many other superstitious practices are permitted according to the sayings of Mohammed.

Anas says, "The Prophet permitted a spell (ruqyah) being used to counteract the ill effects of the evil eye; and on those bitten by snakes and scorpions." ("Sahih Muslin," p. 233.)

Um Salma relates that "the Prophet allowed a spell to be used for the removal of yellow-

ness in the eye, which, he said, proceeded from the malignant eye." ("Sahihu'l-Bokhari," p. 854.)

'Auf ibn Malik says, "the Prophet said, there is nothing wrong in using spells, provided the use of them does not associate anything with God." ("Mishkat," Book XXI, Chap. I.)

The sale of amulets of every description is carried on within a stone's throw of Al Azhar University, and some of the professors, as well as many of the students, promote the industry. A favourite amulet, printed by the thousands and sent from Cairo throughout all North Africa and the Near East, is entitled *The Amulet of the Seven Covenants of Solomon.*

It consists of a strip of paper seventy-nine inches in length and four inches in breadth, lithographed, and with portions of it covered with red, yellow, green, or gold paint. The whole is then rolled up, tied, put into an amulet case of leather and silver, and worn by men as well as by women and children. The specimen which is translated herewith was purchased from Mohammed el Maliji, a bookseller near Al Azhar and renowned for his bitter opposition to the work of missionaries in Cairo. As typical of the real character of popular Islam this translation, which is verbatim except where indicated, will interest the reader:

THE SEVEN COVENANTS OF SOLOMON

What God wills will be

There is no god but God, Mohammed is the Apostle of God.

Abu Bakr		Omar
	God Most High	
Hassan		Hussein
	Mohammed, Peace upon him	
Othman		'Ali

Gabriel, Peace upon him; Michael, Peace upon him; Irafil, Peace upon him; 'Azrail, Peace upon him.

An Amulet for jinns and payment of debts, and a preserver from all secret diseases, and for travelling by land and sea, and for meeting governors, and for winning love, and for selling and buying, and for travelling by day and night: Certainly my prosperity is through God, Mohammed. Him alone I have trusted and to Him I repent.

The Seven Covenants against all evils and to preserve men and cause blessings.

Talha, Zobeir, Abd-er-Rahman, El Haj.

It is useful for the sting of scorpions, serpents, and all other insects. The one who

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carries this (amulet) gains by its blessing all desires.

(Here is given a picture of a scorpion and snake.)

Certainly every person attains to what he purposes. This is the amulet of great power and might and proof.

"In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

"Thanks be to God the Lord of the worlds, and prayer and peace be upon the noblest apostle, our Lord Mohammed, and upon his family and Companions. But after this it is related of the prophet of God, Solomon, son of David, (peace upon both) that he saw an old woman with hoary hair, blue eyes, joined eyebrows, with scrawny limbs, dishevelled hair, a gaping mouth from which flames issued. She cleaved the air with her claws and broke trees with her loud voice. The prophet Solomon said to her, 'Art thou of the jinn or human? I have never seen worse than you.' She said, 'O prophet of God, I am the mother of children (*Um-es-Subyan*). I have dominion upon sons of Adam and daughters of Eve, and upon their possessions. I enter houses and gobble like turkeys, and bark like dogs, and low like cows, and make a noise like camels, and neigh like horses, and bray like donkeys, and hiss like serpents, and represent everything. I make wombs barren and destroy children. I come to women and close their

wombs and leave them, and they will not conceive, and then people say they are barren. I come to a woman in pregnancy and destroy her offspring. It is I, O prophet of God, who come to the woman engaged and tie the tails of her garments, and announce woes and disasters. It is I, O prophet of God, who come to men and make them impotent. [The expressions here used are too indecent for translation.] It is I, O prophet of God, who come to men and oppose their selling and buying. If they trade, they do not gain, and if they plough they will not reap. It is I, O prophet of God, who cause all these.' Then Solomon (peace be upon him) seized her in anger and said to her, 'O cursed one, you shall not go before you give me covenants for the sons of Adam and daughters of Eve, and for their wombs and their children, or I will cut you with this sword.' She then gave the following:

"'*The First Covenant.*

"'By God, there is no God but He, the Profiter, the Harmful, the Possessor of this world and the next, the Life-giver, the Guide to the misbelievers, the Almighty, the Dominant, the Grasper, from whom no one can escape, and whom no one can overcome nor defeat. I shall not come near the one upon whom this amulet is hung, neither in travel nor in sleep, nor in waking, nor in loneliness, and God is witness to what I say. Here is its seal.

"'*The Second Covenant.*

"'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. By God, there is no God but He, the Knower of secrets, the Mighty. . . . I will not touch the one who carries this, neither in his humours, nor in his bones, nor in flesh nor blood nor skin nor hair; nor by any evil as long as earth and heavens exist, and God is witness to what I say, and this is the seal.

"'*The Third Covenant.*

"'In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. By God, who is God but He, the Living, the Self-subsisting. I will not touch the one who carries this, neither in his prosperity nor his children . . . (etc., as before).

"'*The Fourth Covenant*

"'In the name of God, etc. [Attributes of God differ.] I will not touch the one who carries this neither in his walking nor sitting, (etc.).

"'*The Fifth Covenant*

"'In the name of God, etc. I will not touch the one who carries this neither in his property, nor trade, etc., etc.

"'*The Sixth Covenant*

"'In the name of God, etc. I will not touch . . . neither secretly nor openly, etc., etc.'"

Then follow the Koranic verses called *Al Munajiyat.*

"*Special Information and Benefit for Securing Love and Friendship*

"O Thou who dost unite the hearts of the sons of Adam and daughters of Eve by love, we ask you to make the bearer accepted and loved by all, and give him light and favour. God is the Light of heaven.

"*Noor Verses*

"God is the Light. The similitude of His Light is as a niche in a wall wherein a lamp is placed and the lamp enclosed in a case of glass. The glass appears as it were a shining star. It is lighted with the oil of a blessed tree, and olive neither of the east nor of the west. It wanteth little but that the oil thereof would give light although no fire touched it.

"*Throne Chapter*

"God! There is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal. Slumber doth not overtake Him, neither sleep. To Him belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth. Who shall intercede with Him except by His permission? He knows what is between their hands and behind them; and they cannot encompass aught of His knowledge except as He please. His throne is as wide as heaven and earth. The preservation of both is no weariness to Him. He is the High, the Mighty."

Perhaps the most celebrated amulet in the world of Islam is that called *Al Budah,* a magic square supposed to have been revealed to Al Ghazali and now known by his name. It has become the starting-point for a whole science of talismanic symbols. Some of the Moslem authorities say that Adam invented the square. It is called *budah* because the letters are the key to the combination. To the popular mind this word *budah* has become a sort of guardian angel, invoking both good and bad fortune. The square is used against stomach pains; to render one's self invisible; to protect from the evil eye; and to open locks, but the most common use is to insure the safe arrival of letters and packages.

From *Der Christliche Orient,* September, 1911, we learn that superstition has not yet died out in Turkey. The population of Safed in Palestine, according to a missionary correspondent, was all excitement in the early days of July because a veritable hair from the beard of the Prophet Mohammed had been granted them as a gift by the Sultan. A Christian builder was engaged to restore a mosque of the Binat Yakoob, where the famous relic now finds shelter. The mayor of the city took the journey to Acre in order to accompany the relic to its resting place. The correspondent goes on to relate some of the marvels that were told as

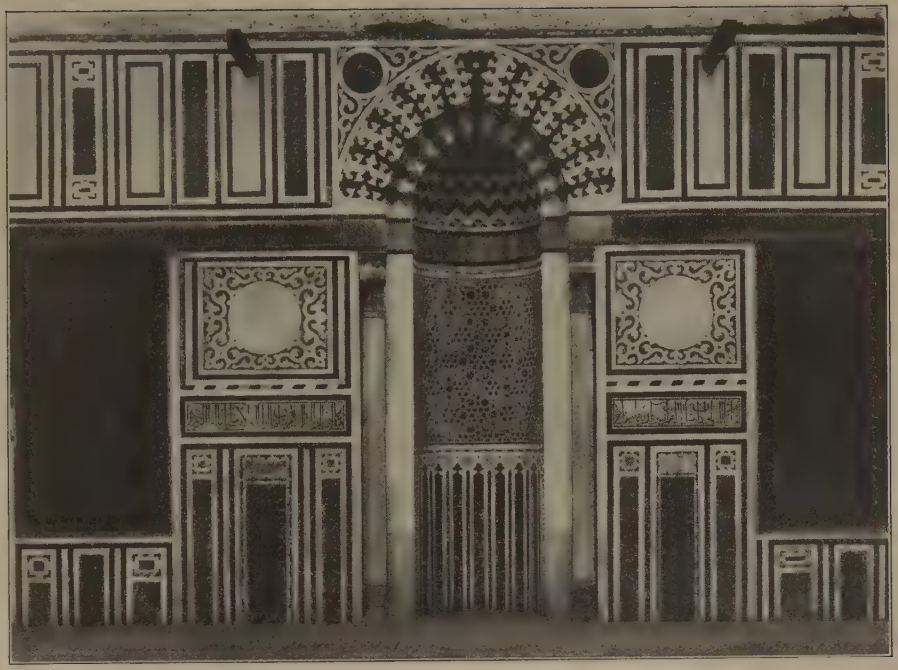
to the virtues connected with the hair of the Prophet. Twenty soldiers, fully armed, escorted the relic, which was carried on horseback by a special rider. The correspondent states that the Arabs look upon this gift as a proof that the rule of the Young Turks, so far from being irreligious or reactionary, has given evidence of its respect for Islam and the Prophet.

To what length superstition goes is evident also from the practice of saint worship, which is almost universal in popular Islam. The *moulids* at Tanta and other places in Egypt draw larger numbers of pilgrims than does Mecca itself. The worship of relics is also not uncommon in Islam. Hairs of the Prophet's beard are shown to tourists in Delhi, Damascus, and Constantinople, and a crude reproduction of what is supposed to be the sandal of the Prophet is sold as an amulet in Cairo.

The dead weight of tradition also rests upon all *methods of education* in the Moslem world, from the *kuttab* to Al Azhar University: it is well-known with what result. Concerning the leading orthodox Moslem school in India, that at Deoband, a missionary wrote:

"We must clearly realize that the college is not meant in any way to fit men for the world's work.

Its aim is purely religious. To the Mohammedans, Arabic is the holy tongue. The Koran and Hadis and all that has sprung up around them alone constitutes true knowledge. The revelation of God is as all-embracing as it is final and fixed. It is a waste of life, and perilous to man's eternal interests, to give heed to the new-fangled notions and latter-day knowledge which make up modern education. What we consider knowledge is as dust compared with Arabic. The faith at all costs, is the Moslem cry. And so they turn again to 'the tongue of heaven and the book of God.' All the land over they see that the loaves and fishes of Government employment and the pressure of the new conditions of life, are forcing true Moslems into receiving Western education, with disastrous results. The confusion and loss are greatly increased by such adventures as the Anglo-Mohammedan College at Aligarh. These can, in the eyes of zealots, but further destroy Mohammedanism. We can only in some measure realize the feelings of the masses on this subject if we remember that Islam is not only a religion, it is a polity. It comprises civilization, education, and all else a man needs in life. Even the trimming of his very moustache is a matter of divine regulation. The spiritual and the secular, the eternal and the temporal, hang together. Thus it is that earnest men, inspired by religious zeal, are doing their best to promote the old learning, and so establish men in the old paths. It is not education but Islam they are working for, and, let me add, they are doing it right gallantly. They see clearly that the new wine cannot be put into the old bottles."



ONE OF THE PRAYER-NICHES (*MIHRAB*) OF EL AZHAR.

The prayer-niche always shows the direction of Mecca. The inscription over the side pillars in this case is from an older mosque which had fallen to pieces, and consists of two fragments from the Koran, chap. Y.S., vs. 12-14, which refer to the preaching of the Apostles of Jesus Christ at Antioch and the fabled conversion by them of Habib, the carpenter.

This same description would apply to a dozen and more other leading schools at Fez and Kairwan, at Bagdad and Bokhara, and to Islam as it is taught in China. Intellectual stagnation is a natural consequence. Nothing so effectually destroys the spirit of criticism and prevents progress in education as traditionalism. Two of the leading papers in Egypt ascribed the backwardness of Islam and its political downfall solely to the abandonment of the Koran and tradition. *Al Moayyad* (September 7, 1911) had a long article under the heading, "Only by the Book and the Traditions of the Prophet can we be guided and can we secure Happiness and Development."—"The Moslems once were the highest of the nations and the most progressive of peoples when they held fast to the glorious Book and the traditions; but now when the devil has plunged them into ignorance they have abandoned the Koran and made themselves despised and rejected of men. *Islam will never progress except by following the traditions of the Prophet even as it has never retrograded except by abandoning them.*"

Not only does tradition lay its dead hand on education, but it fixes forever ethical standards for Islam: standards which are mediæval, Arabian, and therefore local; and worst of all, standards which cannot rise higher than the char-

acter of Mohammed and his Companions. Mr. R. Bosworth Smith, who wrote the most able apology for Islam in his "Life of Mohammed," confesses that "The religion of Christ contains whole fields of morality and whole realms of thought which are all but outside the religion of Mohammed. It opens humility, purity of heart, forgiveness of injuries, sacrifice of self to man's moral nature; it gives scope for toleration, development, boundless progress to his mind; its motive power is stronger, even as a friend is better than a king and love higher than obedience. Its realized ideals in the various paths of human greatness have been more commanding, more many-sided, more holy, as Averroes is below Newton, Haroun below Alfred, and 'Ali below St. Paul. Finally, the ideal life of all is far more elevating, far more majestic, far more inspiring even as the life of the founder of Mohammedanism is below the life of the Founder of Christianity.

"And when I speak of the ideal life of Mohammedanism I must not be misunderstood. There is in Mohammedanism no ideal life in the true sense of the word, for Mohammed's character was admitted by himself to be a weak and erring one. It was disfigured by at least one huge moral blemish; and exactly in so far as his life has, in spite of his earnest and reiterated

protestations, been made an example to be followed, has that vice been perpetuated."

Mohammed had more than one "huge moral blemish," and yet his transgression of the letter and spirit of the seventh commandment is a sufficient illustration of the subject before us. Now, it is passing strange that orthodox tradition lays stress even on this side of the Prophet's life as proof of his superiority over other mortals, with the result that Moslem ethics have steadily deteriorated. The proof is evident in their literature. A few portions of tradition that deal with this matter—and one could compile bulky volumes on the subject—have recently been reprinted in Paris under the title "Théologie Musulmane."[1] The publishers, however, were not Orientalists or students of comparative religion. These traditions appeared in a series of prurient literature for popular sale on the boulevards to the demi-monde!

Again, because of traditionalism and its authority there is no real distinction in popular Islam between the ceremonial and moral law; the former is always emphasized to the detriment of the latter. A hundred illustrations might be given at random from Bokhari, or even from the Moslem press of today. Islam of the orthodox type is Phariseeism translated

[1] By Paul De Regla. Published by Albin Michel.

into Arabic. Sheikh Jasim, my friend in Arabia, with whom I had dealings for many years, was so astounded when he first read the words of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount and in the 23rd chapter of Matthew that he said, "This book was gotten up and printed by the missionaries as an attack on the manners and morals of Moslem mullahs." Every Moslem recognizes the portrait of the Pharisee in the Gospel and knows many such who are walking the streets of his native town. Some of the questions asked in *Al Manar* today indicate how they still tithe anise and cummin and forget the weightier matters of the law. The following topics were seriously discussed during the past year:

Is it allowed to read Bokhari during war time in order to receive victory through its perusal?

If a child uses its grandmother as a wet nurse, must the mother be divorced?

Are the articles written in opposition to divorce not an indictment of Mohammed and his religion?

Is it permitted to use tinctures in hospitals, since they contain wine?

Is wine unclean in itself, that is, to the outer touch or smell, if one does not drink it?

Is it forbidden by our traditions to listen to concert singers?

Is it permitted that women should learn writing?

Was the law of Mohammed created before all things? (Answer: Yes.)

Is a woman forbidden to engage in prayer during her periods? (Answer: Yes, undoubtedly.)

Are the instructions given to a man in the grave as to what he should answer the two angels obligatory?

Mr. Goldsack in a recent article on "Popular Islam in Bengal," points out how the distinction between greater and lesser sins has opened the door for every kind of hypocrisy and deceit. As long as a Moslem avoids those sins which are considered great, namely, the rejection of the Divine Unity, wasting the substance of orphans, usury, etc., then, says Mr. Goldsack, "lust, deception, lying, etc., belong to the smaller faults which God is said to 'blot out.' Such an idea is repulsive. It is blasphemy. It misrepresents God. It degrades His character as holiness. Sin with the Moslem, then, cannot be very deep. We have all heard of things being only skin-deep. With most Moslems sin does not go even that far. I think I am correct in saying that most Moslems view sin as an external pollution which may be removed by ablutions of water or sand. Mohammed himself was not free from this idea, for he said, 'He sent down upon you water from heaven that

He might thereby cleanse you and cause the pollution of Satan to pass from you.' ''

Not only do Moslems, according to orthodox tradition, deny hereditary sin and make light of actual sin, but the fall of Adam is regarded not as a moral but as a physical fall from Paradise. To quote again from Mr. Goldsack:

''The emphasis in the story of Eden is placed on the idea of a fall *from*, not *in* Paradise. That beautiful garden is supposed to have been situated above in heaven, and Adam is said to have fallen to earth and landed on Adam's peak in Ceylon, while Eve alighted at a place near Jiddah, where her tomb is still shown, 173 yards long by 12 feet broad. Adam is said to have been distressed, not because he had lost communion with his Maker, but because he could hear no more the sweet singing of the angels. In all this there is no sign of repentance as we know repentance; there is only regret. True, it is taught that Adam and Eve were the original parents of all men, and that they ate of the forbidden fruit, but that we all have derived from them a tendency to evil, Islam has no teaching. In fact, Adam's act of disobedience was a mere error and nothing more, although he is represented as having cried over his offence for two hundred years.''

Finally, it is in Moslem tradition even more than in the Koran that we find the cause of intolerance, hatred, and fanaticism. There is no

universal brotherhood in Islam. Nowhere in Moslem law is the infidel put on the same platform with the believer. His testimony in a Court of Justice is not equal to that of a Moslem. The penalty for personal violence on a Christian or infidel is lower than in the case of a believer, and according to Moslem law there is no death penalty for the murder of a Christian! This was illustrated in the trial at the famous case of Wardani, who murdered the Prime Minister of Egypt, Butras Pasha. We read in "Minhaj et Talibin," a Manual of Mohammedan Law according to the school of Shafii, pp. 398 and 399:

"When one kills a Moslem in an enemy's country, under the belief that he is an infidel not subject to Moslem authority, one is liable neither to a penalty under the law of talion nor to payment of the price of blood."

"To render applicable the law of talion it is legally necessary—

"1. That the deceased was a Moslem, or an infidel enjoying our protection, on some ground or other. An infidel not subject to a Moslem ruler, and an apostate, are proscribed, and may be killed with impunity."

"A Moslem cannot be put to death for killing an infidel, even though the latter may be the subject of a Moslem prince; but an infidel who kills a Moslem or an infidel is liable to the law of talion, even though

the two infidels are not of the same religion, or the criminal embraces the faith after committing the crime."

One may judge of the legal position of apostates and of the character of Moslem law in general by this paragraph:

"Apostasy consists in the abjuration of Islam, either mentally, or by words, or by acts incompatible with faith. As to oral abjuration, it matters little whether the words are said in joke, or through a spirit of contradiction, or in good faith . . . an attempt should be made to induce the apostate to return from his or her errors; though, according to one authority, this is only a commendable proceeding. The exhortation should take place immediately, or according to one jurist, in the first three days; and if it is of no effect, the guilty man or woman should be put to death. Where, on the contrary, the guilty party returns from his or her errors, this conversion must be accepted as sincere, and the converted person left alone; unless, according to some authorities, he has embraced an occult religion, such as the Zend, whose adherents, while professing Islam, are none the less infidels in their heart, or some doctrine admitting of a mystic or allegorical interpretation of the Koran."

The hatred toward Christians and Jews is ready to show itself, as did the hatred of Mohammed the Prophet, on the least provocation.

The present Armenian massacres, the attempts at holy war or *jihad,* in recent years are examples. A paper published at Bagdad called *Mesopotamia* openly incited Moslems to kill all Christians solely because they were Christians and Italy had made aggressive warfare upon Turkey in Tripoli. (22nd *Dhu'l-Hajj,* A. H. 1329.) Even in India this spirit is often evident. Early in June, 1914, a cinematograph company at Karachi exhibited a film which depicted an imaginary episode in the life of an Oriental prophet, his intrigues and wars. The film was called *Azim* and undoubtedly represented only an Oriental story; but the Moslems were straightway offended and imagined it was an attack on their Prophet and a blasphemous exhibition. Before I quote from the *Comrade* of June 30th, we must remember how Moslem hearts were stirred at this time by the seizure of a washhouse pertaining to a mosque at Cawnpore, and the publication of Dr. Mingana's New Koran Text at Cambridge. In view of all these untoward happenings the editor of the *Comrade* unburdened his soul as follows:

"This, as we have said, was a master-stroke of genius, for if neither Tripoli nor the Balkans, neither Persia nor Morocco, neither Cawnpore nor Calcutta would provoke the Mussalmans, this latest plot at Karachi was bound to do it. Dr. Mingana's Quran

can only be read by the literate, but Mr. Greenfield's latest '*Hadees*' concerning the prophet of Islam can be seen as a moving picture by all alike. Really this Mussalman fanatic knows how to arouse the religious passions and fanaticism of his co-religionists in spite of all the antidotes provided by the creator of the 'Indian Peril.' The Deputy Commissioner who suggests merely deportation is a very milk-and-water sort of District Officer. The least which this friend deserves is being hanged, drawn, and quartered and then flung into a cauldron of boiling pitch. If this sort of namby-pamby disposition continues to show itself in our District Magistrates when dealing with such wicked and vile plotters, we are afraid we shall have to send them to the Balkans to learn something of the art and science of making the punishment fit the crime."

Such is the spirit of intolerance on the part of the editor of the leading Moslem paper in English in India; what may we expect in less favoured lands or from the illiterate classes? No one can live among them without daily experiencing the effects of this religion in producing fanaticism and contempt toward everything non-Moslem. After sixteen years' experience in Arabia among this class of Mohammedans I can only endorse the famous and sober though severe indictment of Islam given by Schlegel in his philosophy of history: "*A prophet without miracles, a religion without mysteries, and a*

morality without love—which has always encouraged a thirst for blood and which has begun and ended in the most unbounded sensuality,"
—because on it there rested the dead-weight of Tradition.

II

THE REVOLT AND ITS FAILURE

"In controversies with respect to Islam and Civilization, no account is usually taken of the Mystical side of this Creed as a native element of antagonism to the most essential doctrines of Islam. Widespread as is this unorthodox mysticism, it has been, and still is compelled to keep itself to a certain extent hidden."—LUCY M. J. GARNETT: "Mysticism and Magic in Turkey."

"Moses once heard a shepherd praying as follows: 'O God, show me where Thou art that I may become Thy servant. I will clean Thy shoes, and comb Thy hair, and sew Thy clothes, and fetch Thee milk.' When Moses heard him praying in this senseless manner, he rebuked him, saying, 'O foolish one, though your father was a Moslem, you have become an infidel! God is a spirit, and needs not such gross ministrations as in your ignorance you suppose.' The shepherd was abashed at the Prophet's rebuke; he tore his clothes and fled away into the desert. Then a voice from heaven was heard saying, 'O Moses, wherefore hast thou driven away My servant? Thine office it is to reconcile my people with Me, not to drive them away from Me. I have given to men different usages and forms of praising and of adoring Me. I have no need of their praises, being exalted high above all such needs. I regard not the words which are spoken, but the heart that offers them.'"—EL MESNAVI.

II

THE REVOLT AND ITS FAILURE

Thou therefore that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, does thou steal? thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou rob temples? thou who gloriest in the law, through thy transgression of the law dishonourest thou God? For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you, even as it is written. For circumcision indeed profiteth, if thou be a doer of the law; but if thou be a transgressor of the law, thy circumcision is become uncircumcision.—ROMANS 2: 21-25.

My yoke is easy and my burden is light.—MATT. 11: 30.

THIS began very early. In fact the rise of the Shiah sect in Persia and the Schism in the Caliphate was due not only to family jealousies on behalf of 'Ali as the true successor of the Prophet, but also to the fact that the new wine of Aryan thought and philosophy in Persia burst the leathern bottles of the Semitic creed. As Sir Lewis Pelly remarks: "Though the personal history of 'Ali and his sons was the exciting cause of the Shiah schism, the formal and fundamental cause lies far deeper in the impassable ethnological gulf which separates the Aryan and Semitic races."

Persia has been the mother of heresies in the history of Moslem dogma and in addition to the doctrinal and party lines in Islam, based on the interpretation of Tradition, the system has suffered disintegration for centuries through pantheism, rationalism, and asceticism, which at various times and in various ways swept through all the sects alike and exerted a powerful influence without producing permanent reform or progress.

The revolt against Islam in its hard traditional form has generally been along one of three lines: Attempt to spiritualize its doctrines (Sufism); attempts to rid it of excrescences, that is, to minimize the weight of tradition, as in the case of the Wahabis; and finally, especially in recent years, syncretism [1] (new wine into old bottles) by the establishment of new sects, such as Babism, Bahaism, and the Ahmadiya movement. This might be called Moslem eclecticism.

I. Attempts to Spiritualize

Al Ghazali is the outstanding and most influential example. In him we doubtless see Islam at its best. His teachings are summarized in his great work "The Revival of the Sciences of Religion" and if only he had been

[1] "The attempt to reconcile irreconcilable views in religion or philosophy."—Century Dictionary.

able to carry the masses with him, his reform might have led to truer conceptions of God and life, and even of Christianity. The story of his own deep spiritual experiences is given in his famous book "Al Munkidh min ad Dillal," recently translated into English under the title, "The Confessions of Al Ghazali." Al Ghazali's religious experiences are so deeply interesting that we give herewith some extracts from his "Confessions."

"Know then, my brothers (may God direct you in the right way), that the diversity in beliefs and religions, and the variety of doctrines and sects which divide men, are like a deep ocean strewn with shipwrecks, from which very few escape safe and sound. Each sect, it is true, believes itself in possession of the truth and of salvation, 'each party,' as the Koran saith, 'rejoices in its own creed'; but as the chief of the apostles, whose word is always truthful, has told us, 'My people will be divided into more than seventy sects, of whom only one will be saved.' This prediction, like all others of the Prophet, must be fulfilled.

"From the period of adolescence, that is to say, previous to reaching my twentieth year to the present time, when I have passed my fiftieth, I have ventured into this vast ocean. I have fearlessly sounded its depths, and like a resolute diver, I have penetrated its darkness and dared its dangers and abysses. I have interrogated the beliefs of each sect and scrutinized the mysteries of each doctrine, in order to

disentangle truth from error and orthodoxy from heresy. I have never met one who maintained the hidden meaning of the Koran without investigating the nature of his belief, nor a partisan of its exterior sense without inquiring into the results of his doctrine. There is no philosopher whose system I have not fathomed, nor theologian the intricacies of whose doctrine I have not followed out.

"Sufism has no secrets into which I have not penetrated; the devout adorer of Deity has revealed to me the aim of his austerities; the atheist has not been able to conceal from me the real reason of his unbelief. The thirst for knowledge was innate in me from an early age; it was like a second nature implanted by God, without any will on my part. No sooner had I emerged from boyhood than I had already broken the fetters of tradition and freed myself from hereditary beliefs.

"Having noticed how easily the children of Christians become Christians, and the children of Moslems embrace Islam, and remembering also the traditional saying ascribed to the Prophet, 'Every child has in him the germ of Islam, then his parents make him Jew, Christian, or Zoroastrian,' I was moved by a keen desire to learn what was this innate disposition in the child, the nature of the accidental beliefs imposed on him by the authority of his parents and his masters, and finally the unreasoned convictions which he derives from their instructions.

"Perhaps also Death in that state, according to that saying of the Prince of prophets, 'Men are asleep; when they die, they wake.' Our present life

in relation to the future is perhaps only a dream, and man, once dead, will see things in direct opposition to those now before his eyes; he will then understand that word of the Koran, 'Today we have removed the veil from thine eyes and thy sight is keen.'

"Such thoughts as these threatened to shake my reason, and I sought to find an escape from them. But how? In order to disentangle the knot of this difficulty, a proof was necessary. Now a proof must be based on primary assumptions, and it was precisely these of which I was in doubt. This unhappy state lasted about two months, during which I was, not, it is true, explicitly or by profession, but morally and essentially a thoroughgoing skeptic."

He could find no rest for his soul and finally turned to mysticism. He goes on to say:

"The researches to which I had devoted myself, the path which I had traversed in studying religious and speculative branches of knowledge, had given me a firm faith in three things—God, Inspiration, and the Last Judgment. These three fundamental articles of belief were confirmed in me, not merely by definite arguments, but by a chain of causes, circumstances, and proofs which it is impossible to recount. I saw that one can only hope for salvation by devotion and the conquest of one's passions, a procedure which presupposes renouncement and detachment from this world of falsehood in order to turn toward eternity and meditation on God. Finally, I saw that the only condition of success was to sacrifice honours and

riches and to sever the ties and attachments of worldly life.

"Coming seriously to consider my state, I found myself bound down on all sides by these trammels. Examining my actions, the most fair-seeming of which were my lecturing and professional occupations, I found to my surprise that I was engrossed in several studies of little value, and profitless as regards my salvation. I probed the motives of my teaching and found that in place of being sincerely consecrated to God, it was only actuated by a vain desire of honour and reputation. I perceived that I was on the edge of an abyss, and that without an immediate conversion I should be doomed to eternal fire. In these reflections I spent a long time. Still a prey to uncertainty, one day I decided to leave Bagdad and to give up everything; the next day I gave up my resolution. I advanced one step and immediately relapsed. In the morning I was sincerely resolved only to occupy myself with the future life; in the evening a crowd of carnal thoughts assailed and dispersed my resolutions. On the one side the world kept me bound to my post in the chains of covetousness, on the other side the voice of religion cried to me, 'Up! Up! thy life is nearing its end, and thou hast a long journey to make. All thy pretended knowledge is nought but falsehood and fantasy. If thou dost not think now of thy salvation, when wilt thou think of it? If thou dost not break thy chains today, when wilt thou break them?' Then my resolve was strengthened, I wished to give up all and flee; but the Tempter, returning to the attack,

said, 'You are suffering from a transitory feeling; don't give way to it, for it will soon pass. If you obey it, if you give up this fine position, this honourable post exempt from trouble and rivalry, this seat of authority safe from attack, you will regret it later on without being able to recover it.'

"Finally, conscious of my weakness and the prostration of my soul, I took refuge in God as a man at the end of himself and without resources. 'He who hears the wretched when they cry' [Koran, XXVII, 63] deigned to hear me; He made easy to me the sacrifice of honours, wealth, and family."

Yet his experience is remarkable and one cannot help believing that God's spirit was not absent altogether from him in his diligent search. At the close of his book he writes:

"Ten years passed in this manner. During my successive periods of meditation there were revealed to me things impossible to recount. All that I shall say for the edification of the reader is this: I learnt from a sure source that the Sufis are the true pioneers on the path of God; that there is nothing more beautiful than their life, nor more praiseworthy than their rule of conduct, nor purer than their morality. The intelligence of thinkers, the wisdom of philosophers, the knowledge of the most learned doctors of the law would in vain combine their efforts in order to modify or improve their doctrine and morals; it would be impossible. With the sufis, repose and movement, exterior or interior, are illumined with

the light which proceeds from the Central Radiance of Inspiration."

And yet how hopeless it all seemed, for at the end of his book he closes with these words:

"But the knowledge of which we speak is not derived from sources accessible to human diligence, and that is why progress in mere worldly knowledge renders the sinner more hardened in his revolt against God.

"True knowledge, on the contrary, inspires in him who is initiate in it more fear and more reverence, and raises a barrier of defence between him and sin. He may slip and stumble, it is true, as is inevitable with one encompassed by human infirmity, but these slips and stumbles will not weaken his faith. The true Moslem succumbs occasionally to temptation, but he repents and will not persevere obstinately in the path of error.

"I pray God the Omnipotent to place us in the ranks of His chosen, among the number of those whom He directs in the path of safety, in whom He inspires fervour lest they forget Him; whom He cleanses from all defilement, that nothing may remain in them except Himself; yea, of those whom He indwells completely, that they may adore none beside Him."

It is clear from all this how thoroughly Ghazali revolted against the literalism and Phariseeism of tradition, and although he did not abandon the foundations of Islam, he yet

sought in the superstructure to interpret creed and ritual on spiritual lines. Some of his sayings on purification, prayer, repentance, and the Moslem heaven approach very closely to the teachings of the Bible. The following examples make this clear:

In speaking of purification he says there are four degrees of purity: first, purity from things that defile the body; second, purity from gross sins; third, purity of the heart from an evil disposition, and lastly, the highest purity which is a purification of the whole inward nature from everything except the Presence of God; this he says is the purity attained by the Prophets and Apostles. In giving his thoughts on the spiritual character of prayer, he attains almost the height of St. Paul. "True prayer," he says, "consists of six elements: the presence of the heart, a true understanding of its need, reverence, hope, and a sense of shame at our own sins." The true *kibla* to which we pray is not Mecca but the face of God. "Note this," he says, "that even as you cannot turn your face to Mecca without turning it away from every other direction, so your heart will not be turned to God unless you divorce it from every other object and thought in the world." "When you stand up to pray," he says, "remember that time when on the great day you will stand alone before the majestic presence of God to answer

for your past life." When you pronounce the words "God is Great," meditate on this thought and ask yourself whether there is anything in your heart greater than God or anything to which you are more obedient than you are to God. Unless you do this, all your shouting will avail you nothing. In describing the Moslem fast he says that there are three degrees of fasting: first, that of the common people; second, the fast of the special class; and third the fast of the special of specials. The first class fast from food and the desires of the flesh, the second class abstain with all their members and senses from sin, and the third class abstain from every worldly thought and desire and think of nothing but God Himself.

It is, however, in his description of the Moslem paradise that Al Ghazali rises to the highest thoughts. Although he does not deny its sensuous pleasures he pictures these as only for the common believer and says that if this were the total of its delights, cattle in a fertile pasture would have paradise. The true delight of Heaven is perfect peace and the beatific vision of God. How mortal eye can see the immortal, how the finite can behold the infinite without an incarnation of God, Al Ghazali does not make clear.

These quotations are taken from his great work, and it is no wonder that Moslems have

said that if all the books of Islam were destroyed, it would be but a slight loss, provided Al Ghazali's work on the "Revival of the Sciences of Religion" were preserved. Of this man, Professor Macdonald, who calls him the greatest figure in the history of Islam, says: "Islam has never outgrown him and has never fully understood him." We may add, although he is once more coming to the front and his works are being reprinted and recommended, it is doubtful whether his teachings will be able to rescue the masses from traditionalism, or the educated from rationalism. Even Al Ghazali is sad reading for a Christian. The iron is mingled with clay. The pearls are found in the mire, and in the same chapters one may catch sublime glimpses of the truth and be dragged down in the sloughs of Moslem carnality. What he says about marriage, for example, and the rights of the husband over the wife in his great work on "The Revival of the Sciences of Religion" is untranslatably vile. Sensuality seems to be an ineradicable blot on the pages of the best Moslem books. In Al Ghazali's wonderful treatise on "The Names and Attributes of God," he has one section which is exceedingly beautiful on the avenues of approach to the knowledge of the Creator through nature and revelation and even the knowledge of God through absorption or experience. Yet in this

very chapter he knows of no better illustration than the joys of coition, which cannot be appreciated by one who is born impotent. In like manner he says, we cannot appreciate the character of God until we fully experience Him.

Al Ghazali died A.D. 1111, but the world of Islam did not profit much from his teachings. For seven long centuries Moslem kingdoms rose and fell, rival sects engaged in internecine strife, the Ottoman Turks gained and lost provinces, conditions in Morocco, Persia, and Afghanistan continued as they had been, and Islam went from bad to worse. The reforms which Al Ghazali had been unable to accomplish by the pen, another great leader attempted to achieve by the sword. If it was impossible to spiritualize Islam, could the Moslem world not be reformed by going back to Mohammed and the early golden days?

The rise of innumerable heresies as the result of philosophical speculation, the spread of mysticism among the learned classes, and the return to many heathen superstitions on the part of the masses made Islam ripe for reform at the middle of the eighteenth century. Add to this that there was a general decadence of morals under the Ottoman caliphate and that there had been a lull in the period of Moslem conquest. Except for a temporary revival of missionary activity on the part of the Moslems

in China and the spread of Islam among the Tartars, the eighteenth century saw little advance for the Crescent. Instead of conquest there was controversy. Over 150 heretical Moslem sects are enumerated by writers of that period. Each of them agreed with the words of Mohammed, ascribed to him in Tradition: "My people will be divided into seventy-three sects; every one of which will go to hell except *one* sect."[1]

All these sects differed either in their ideas of Allah and His prophet's revelation, or split hairs on free-will and destiny. The Abadiyah held that Ali was divine; the Safatites taught the grossest anthropomorphism; while Sufism, which arose in Persia, was so thoroughly pantheistic that it seems strange to find rigid monotheists carried away by its teaching. The four orthodox imams were at agreement concerning most doctrines but differed chiefly in their genuflections and more or less lax interpretation of ritual precepts. The germs of idolatry left by Mohammed in his system bore fruit. Saint worship in some form or other had become common all over Arabia, as well as in other Moslem lands. The Shiahs had made Kerbela the rival of Mecca and Medina as a place of pilgrimage. There were local shrines of "holy men" near every village. The whole world of

[1] "Mishkat," Book I, Chap. VI, Part II.

thought was honeycombed with superstitions borrowed from every conceivable source; even Buddhism gave its rosary to Islam, and they had already passed it on to the West. The old-time simplicity of life and morals had given way to pride, luxury, and gross sensuality. Burckhardt testifies regarding Mecca itself (which has always been to the pious Moslem the cynosure of his faith) that, just before the time of the Wahabi reformation, debauchery was fearfully common, harlotry and even unnatural vices were perpetrated openly in the sacred city. Almsgiving had grown obsolete; justice was neither swift nor impartial; effeminacy had displaced the martial spirit, and the conduct of the pilgrim caravans was scandalous in the extreme.

II. Attempts to Rid of Excrescences

Such was the condition of Arabia when Mohammed bin Abdul-Wahab bin Mussherif came as a reformer. He was born at Wasit in Nejd, 1691 A.D. And before his death this great reformer, earnest as Luther and zealous as Cromwell, saw his doctrines accepted and his laws obeyed from the Persian Gulf to the Yemen frontier. As the result of his teaching, there sprang up, in the course of half a century, not only a new, widely extended, and important

Moslem sect, but an independent and powerful state. Abd-ul-Wahab was an incarnate whirlwind of Puritanism against the prevailing apostasy of the Moslem world. The sect which he founded and which took its popular name from him was a protest against Moslem idolatry and superstition. It stood for no new doctrine, but called back to the original Islam. Wahabiism was an attempt at an Arabian reformation. Yet so far from giving any progressive impulse to the Mohammedan cult, it has proved the most reactionary element in the history of Islam. This purely Semitic and unique movement, with all its energy, has produced nothing new; it has been directed exclusively toward the repristination of the old Moslem monotheism. The history of the sect shows that a reformation of the Moslem world by a return to primitive Islam (in theory and practice) is an impossibility, even when aided by the sword. *Back to Christ,* not back to Mohammed—that is the only hope for the Moslem world.

Mohammed bin Abd-ul-Wahab was instructed from his youth by his father in the religion of Islam according to the straightest sect of the orthodox Sunnis, namely, that of the Imam Abu Abdullah Ahmed bin Hanbal. Arrived at manhood, the serious student of Islam determined to visit other schools than those of Nejd. He went to Mecca, and afterward also to Busrah

and Bagdad. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca and visited El Medina, but in neither place did he find the ideal Islam for which his heart was longing. He felt that there was a wide distinction between the essential elements of Islam and the recent admixtures of dogma and practice. At Ayinah he first posed as a teacher of the truth. He affirmed the right of private judgment in interpreting the Koran and the traditions by boldly rejecting the old-time leading-strings of the orthodox commentators. His teaching met with opposition from the outset, but there were also those who accepted his bold position. He fled from his native town and sought refuge at Deraiah under the protection of Mohammed bin Saoud, a chief of considerable influence and great ambition. The reformer and the chief found that they could be mutually helpful in furthering each the interest of the other. A marriage alliance, by which the daughter of Abd-ul-Wahab became the wife of Mohammed bin Saoud, sealed their covenant. The preacher with his book and the warrior with his sword now stood on the same platform and were ready to begin conquest. Without Mohammed bin Saoud and his powerful dynasty there would have been no Wahabi conquest. It is in the very nature of Islam to grasp the sword which the Prophet himself received from the hands of Allah.

Partly by persuasion and partly by force Saoud gained victories over the neighbouring tribes, and even the province of Hassa. Before his death, in 1765, the whole of Nejd was one Wahabi state. Abd-ul-Aziz, his son and successor, a more able warrior than his father and of equal ambition, assumed the titles of Imam and Sultan. The provinces of Arish and Nejran, to the south of Mecca, were added to the Wahabi dominions. Ghalib, the sheriff of Mecca, was filled with alarm, and, on his complaint, the Turkish Government sent an army of 5,000 men to lay siege to Hofhuf, the capital of Hassa. They were repulsed, and the Wahabis now took the initiative by advancing toward Baghdad and laying siege to Kerbela. The town was stormed, the inhabitants massacred, and spoils of immense value were taken from the shrine and put into the Wahabi treasury.

Flushed with the success of this campaign against the idolatrous Moslems of the north, the Wahabis now turned toward Mecca. Taif, the fertile garden city near to Mecca, was subdued with great bloodshed, and in a few months Mecca itself came into Wahabi hands. Ghalib fled to Jiddah, which was the only place in all Hejaz that held out against their invasions. To Saoud, the son of Abd-ul-Aziz, was given the governorship of Mecca, and in a noteworthy

letter he dictated to the Porte the terms on which alone the annual pilgrimage would be permitted. In 1804 Saoud conquered Medina, treating the inhabitants with great severity and plundering all the riches which had accumulated for centuries around the Prophet's tomb. The tomb itself barely escaped being utterly demolished by the desert iconoclasts, who preached a thorough reformation and butchered all Turks as idolaters. From that time till 1811 the Wahabi armies made incursions into Turkish territory as far as Damascus and Anah on the Euphrates. The Wahabis on the Persian Gulf began to use their reformed Islam as a cloak for piracy, and two expeditions sent from Bombay broke up the robber-nest of Ras-el-Kheymah, and taught the zealots a lesson never since forgotten. The so-called pirate coast is now under British protection, and the inhabitants, although still Wahabis, are friendly to Great Britain.

Meanwhile (since the pilgrimage to the holy cities was limited to those who embraced the Wahabi reform), many complaints reached the Sultan of Turkey. After some futile efforts of his own, he entrusted the task of conquering the Wahabis and re-taking Mecca to Mohammed Ali Pasha, his already over-powerful Egyption vassal.

Toussoun Beg, the son of Mohammed Ali, com-

manded the first expedition, landing at Yenbo, the port of Medina, in 1811. By the end of the following year Medina was taken. The troops made a fearful massacre of the Wahabi garrison and the inhabitants, and treacherously murdered even those 1,500 to whom they had promised safe conduct. The intrigues of Mohammed Ali had, meanwhile, detached the Sheriff Ghalib from the Wahabi cause; and Jiddah was occupied by the Turks in 1813. Mohammed Ali now came over in person, collected a large army, and in 1815 advanced toward Yemen. Shortly after Gunfidah, a small town on the Red Sea, was taken by the army, discontent broke out among the troops. In 1814 Saoud, the second of that name and the greatest of the dynasty, died and was succeeded by his son Abdullah. The power of the Wahabi state had already suffered serious loss during Saoud's life by the taking of the holy cities. After his death other losses followed. The Wahabi forces were utterly defeated by the Turks in the battle of Bessel. This battle, fought on the 26th of Moharram, 1230 A. H. (January 7, 1815), was the deciding blow —one of the great battles of history. The Wahabi force numbered 25,000 men—camel-riders, infantry, and a few horsemen. The Turks had artillery and with it drove the enemy out of their mountain position into the open plain. "As soon as Mohammed saw the enemy

running, he proclaimed among his troops that six dollars should be given for every Wahabi's head. In a few hours five thousand were piled before him; in one narrow valley fifteen hundred Wahabis had been surrounded and cut to pieces. Of three hundred prisoners taken, fifty were impaled before the gates of Mecca; twelve suffered a like horrible death at every one of the coffee-houses from Mecca to Jiddah, and the rest were impaled at Jiddah! The Turks delighted in this display of *disgusting* cruelty, but all their Bedouin allies expressed aloud their utmost indignation." (Burckhardt.) Mohammed Ali Pasha returned to Egypt; Toussoun Pasha, left to complete the war, concluded a peace with the Wahabis, but the treaty was disavowed both at Cairo and Constantinople. Ibrahim Pasha landed at Yenbo in 1816, and commenced the final campaign. He subdued the entire province of Kasim, entered Nejd, and in April, 1818, appeared before the walls of the Wahabi capital Deraiah. The city was taken and razed to the ground; Abdullah was carried off to Constantinople and publicly executed in front of St. Sophia.

After this the boundaries of the Wahabi state although narrower still embraced Hassa, the whole of Nejd, Asir, and Kasim—one broad belt of zealots from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea.

But in 1870 the aged and blind Sultan Feysul was assassinated. Dissension broke out regarding his successor, and the result was Turkish interference and loss to the Wahabi state. Hassa became a Turkish province, at least nominally, and Hofhuf, the capital, was until last year occupied by a Turkish garrison. On the Yemen side Asir also was annexed to Turkey and the rebellious Arabs crushed under a yoke of taxation.

Since then Turkey has lost her power in Arabia, her garrison has been turned out of Hassa, and today Central Arabia is altogether governed by the Ibn Saoud dynasty, which has no regard for the Turk, and is in close relationship with England.

The name of Wahabis was given to the followers of Mohammed bin Abd-ul-Wahab by their opponents. They called themselves by other names, such as *Ahl-i-Hadith,* or the People of Tradition, and *Muwahidin,* or Unitarians. In considering the distinctive religious tenets and practices of the Wahabis, we must never lose sight of the fact that they themselves claim (and claim rightly) to possess all the doctrines of primitive Islam in their original purity; and that Abd-ul-Wahab contended not for new views but for first principles. It was his aim to demolish utterly everything that had been superadded to the original revelation of Allah.

The firm stand taken by the Wahabi leaders on the original foundation of Islam has ever been their strongest argument against their opponents. Burckhardt writes: "If further proof were required that the Wahabis are very orthodox Mussulmans, their catechism would furnish it. When Saoud took possession of Mecca he distributed copies of this catechism among the inhabitants, and ordered that the pupils in public schools learn it by heart. Its contents are nothing more than what the most orthodox Turk must admit to be true . . . and nothing was contained in this catechism which the Meccans had not already learned."[1] This catechism or creed of the Wahabis (given by Burckhardt in his appendix to the second volume), opens with the usual Unitarian formula coupled with a motto from Bokhari, the great traditionist: "First learn, then speak, then act." The questions and answers are in no way remarkable except that each answer is accompanied by a proof-text from the Koran. The division of the little tract is threefold on the knowledge of God, the knowledge of Islam, and the knowledge of our Prophet Mohammed. Concerning Mohammed, the catechism answer reads: "Mohammed, may God's mercy be upon him! is a delegate whom we dare not adore and a Prophet whom we dare not belie; but we must

[1] "Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabis," Vol. II, p. 104.

obey and follow him, for it has been ordained to spirits and to mortals to be his followers. He was born and appointed a prophet at Mecca; his flight and death were at Medina. If it be asked, is he mortal? answer, Yes, he is mortal. In proof of which we read, 'Say I am but a mortal like yourselves, to whom it is revealed that your God is but one God.' " Here are some points on which the Wahabis are distinguished from other Moslems:

1. They do not receive the dogmatic decisions of the four Imams (founders of the chief system of interpretation), but say that any man who can read and understand the Koran has the right of private judgment, and can interpret the Koran and the Traditions for himself. They therefore reject Ijma' *i.e.,* "the unanimous consent of the fathers," after the death of the Companions of the Prophet.

2. Their monotheism is practical, not theoretical, as among other Moslems. Prayers should not be offered to any prophet, weli, or saint. Palgrave's matchless description of Allah, as "the pantheism of force," in all its remarkable analytical detail applies rather to the Wahabis than to Moslems in general. (See "Travels in Central and Eastern Arabia," Vol. I: 365.)

3. Together with this absolute monotheism they are accused, not without cause, of having

crude and anthropomorphic ideas of deity. They understand the terms "sitting of God" (Istawa ala'l Arsh) and "hand of God" (Yed Allah) in their literal sense. This teaching is cause of offence to other Moslems, many of whom designate the doctrine as *kufr* (infidelity).

4. Regarding Mohammed's intercession, they differ from other Moslems in holding that it is impossible *now,* although it will be possible on the day of judgment.

5. They think it wrong to build cupolas over graves or to honour the dead in any way, such as by illuminations or by visiting their tombs. Even the tomb of Mohammed is no exception.

6. They are accused, rightly or wrongly, of holding that certain portions of the original Koran were abstracted by Othman out of envy when he made his recension superseding all other copies extant.[1]

7. They observe four festivals only, namely, *'Id el Fitr,* after the fast month; *'Id el Azha* or feast of sacrifice at the Hajj; *'Ashura,* the tenth day of Moharram, on which God created Adam and Eve; and *Lailat el Mubarakat,* the night on which the Koran descended. The anniversary of the Prophet's birth they do not observe, nor any of the other feasts and holy days of Islam.

[1] "History of Imams and Seyyids of Oman," by Salil bin Razik, pp. 252, 253.

8. They forbid the use of prayer beads or rosaries, and instead count prayers and the names of God on the knuckles of their hands with the thumb.

9. In the matter of dress they advocate a return to early Arabian simplicity. All silk, jewels, silver or gold ornaments, and other than *Arabian* dress, are an abomination to God and to His Prophet.

10. Even in food and drink they are distinguished from other Moslems. The lawfulness of tobacco has always been a disputed point among Moslem theologians, but the Wahabi reformer puts tobacco-smoking under the category of greater sins, and the weed is known by the name of "the shameful," or by a still worse and untranslatable epithet which implies a purely Satanic origin for the plant. All intoxicants not only, but all drugs that stupefy or benumb, are under the ban. The Kaat-plant of Yemen (*Catha edulis*) is also forbidden food.

11. Wahabi mosques are built with the greatest simplicity. No minarets are allowed, and only bare walls ornament the place of prayer.

12. The Spanish renegade, Ali Bey, details another interesting point of difference. Moslems are accustomed to leave a lock of hair on the crown of their head when shaving it. As this is based on a superstitious belief that they

will be caught up by this lock of hair to heaven on the last day, Abd-ul-Wahab forbade the practice sternly.

13. The Wahabis lay great stress on the doctrine of *jihad*. To fight for the faith once delivered with sword and spear and matchlock was to them a divinely imposed duty, a command of God never to be abrogated. In all their bloody warfare they never were known to grant quarter to a Turk (Burckhardt). They keep this precept of their Prophet diligently, "Kill the unbelievers wherever ye find them."

Other points of difference there are of less importance, and some of such trivial character as to be ridiculous. But enough have been enumerated to show that the Wahabis are not altogether like "orthodox" Moslems. It is evident from these teachings why some European writers have called the Wahabi movement the Eastern Reformation. It did indeed resemble the Reformation under Luther in three respects. It was iconoclastic and waged war against every form of saint worship. It acknowledged the right of private judgment and demanded a return to primitive beliefs. It was fruitful in results beyond its own horizon. "Just as the Lutheran Reformation in Europe, although it failed to convert the Catholic Church, caused its real reform, so Wahabiism has produced a

real desire for reform, if not reform itself, in Mussulmans."[1]

But in spite of these points of resemblance the Wahabi movement differed utterly from the Protestant Reformation in that it was from the outset antagonistic to free thought and the progress of civilization. It was an advance backward and progress toward an *impasse*. Luther emancipated the intellect; Abd-ul-Wahab enchained it. The European Reformation was accompanied by a revival of learning. The Arabian Reformation was a retrogression to "the time of ignorance." The one used the "Sword of the Spirit," the other the sword of steel. The one was eminently practical, the other fanatical. And above and beyond all this, the results of the Lutheran Reformation were incalculably greater in every way than the efforts at reform made by the Arabian Moslems.

Before we dismiss this division of our subject, a few words regarding the character of the Wahabi government are necessary. Their ideal state was founded on the old method of the Koran and the sword. In not passing over this element of Islam they were truly consistent with the teaching and example of their Prophet. This we have already referred to in enumerating their teachings, but it is worthy of emphasis, and, therefore, we repeat it. The Wahabis be-

[1] Blunt, "Future of Islam."

lieved in *jihad* (holy war). Modern apologists for Islam try to eliminate all idea of warfare or killing from this word,[1] but the Wahabis knew Arabic better and understood the spirit of their Prophet and his book perfectly. The Wahabi state strictly enforced the Koran precept concerning the duty of military service. The strictest police regulations were observed in camp; after the surrender of Mecca soldiers were seen running about with lost articles seeking for their owners! Public education had no mean place in the Wahabi state. Schools were everywhere established and teachers sent even to the Bedouin tribes; although, as a matter of course, the instruction was elementary, its widespread results are yet apparent in many districts of Central Arabia. The Wahabi government also endeavoured to improve the status of Bedouin society by abolishing the system of blood revenge, and tried to make the Arabs content with a money payment for the blood of a

[1] T. W. Arnold, in his "Preaching of Islam," is the latest to attempt this impossibility. Following the lead of Maulavi Cheragh Ali (Calcutta, 1885), he tries to show that all the wars of Mohammed were defensive, and that aggressive war or compulsory conversion is not allowed in the Koran. He gives all the passages in which the word *jihad* occurs and carefully omits the passages where *katala* (to kill) is used to enjoin the same duty. It is a sorry attempt to prove that which is contradicted not only by all Arabic lexicographers, but by the history of Islam from the days of Badr to the late Armenian massacres,—not to speak of the interpretation given of *jihad* by Abd-ul-Wahab and his fiery warriors, who professed primitive Islam.

relation. The right of *dakhil* or refuge was abolished in every case where it might be used to screen a criminal from the hand of justice. Wealthy individuals and those in moderate circumstances paid proportionately in the taxes, and the Wahabi state is perhaps the only Oriental despotism that ever granted security to the rich from the rapacity of government (Burckhardt, p. 142). Many of the Wahabi laws are given by Burckhardt in detail, but they are all founded upon the early practice of the Prophet and the caliphs, and consist of a list of graded penalties for various crimes against God and the State.

All of the above particulars refer to the Wahabi state when in its glory. It soon fell into decay. Yet, although the great hall of justice at Riadh has fallen into ruins, and the Saoud dynasty is for ever at an end, the idea of a purely Moslem state founded on the sword lived on; and it will always continue the inspiration of every restless fanatic who desires power for himself by reforming Islam and butchering unbelievers.

According to Arnold ("Preaching of Islam," p. 230) the remarkable revival of the Moslem faith in Bengal was due to Wahabi influence. "Nineteen years ago in Bengal proper Hindus numbered nearly half a million more than Moslems did, and in the space of less than two

decades, the Moslems have not only overtaken the Hindus, but have surpassed them by a million and a half."

In Arabia the chief strongholds of the Wahabis are along the Oman coast of the Persian Gulf, especially Sharga, Abu-Thabi, and Ras el Kheyma; and also in 'Ajman and the Wady Dowasir district. In the latter place they still preserve all their old-time beliefs and fanaticism. In the rest of Arabia their numbers have greatly diminished, their zeal has waxed cold, and many of the precepts of their leader are disregarded. Western life (through trade and passing caravans of pilgrims) has reached even here with its urbane influence. Many of the Wahabis have again begun to smoke "the shameful" and wear silk head-dress; for Epicureanism was ever more congenial to the Arab mind than Puritanism. The Nejd, which was once a stronghold of Wahabi doctrine, now harbours the Shiahs, and the government is, in a Moslem sense, liberal. Hassa and Bahrein once had hundreds of Wahabi mosques, but most of them have passed into the hands of other sects for want of worshippers.

Most remarkable is the story of Wahabi missionary zeal in the Sudan under Sheikh Othman Donfodio, as told by Arnold. Making a pilgrimage to Mecca at the time of the Wahabi occupation, this man was converted to their

views and returned to the Sudan to inaugurate reform. He united the scattered clans of the Fulahs into one Moslem army and marched against the heathen tribes of Hausa. He also sent letters (*à la* Mohammed) to the kings of Timbuctu and Bornu commanding them to reform their lives or receive the punishment of Allah at his hands. The army enforced his demands, and Sokoto became the capital of a Moslem state. In 1837 Adamawa was founded on the ruins of several pagan settlements. Today the most zealous propagandists of Islam are the Fulah missionaries.[1]

In Egypt and Turkey the number of Wahabis is not large. In Persia, as far as I can learn, there is only one place where they are found—a small colony of Arabs from Nejd live north of Linga, on the Persian Gulf. Central Asia (with the exception of parts of Afghanistan) and China were never much influenced by the Wahabi reform.

As an indirect result of the Wahabi movement we may count many of the Moslem brotherhoods, or the so-called religious orders of Islam. The Senoussi dervishes especially seem to have borrowed many of their distinctive marks from the Wahabis. With them, too, tobacco is strictly forbidden; they prohibit pilgrimage to the tombs of saints; luxuries of dress are for-

[1] See S. W. Koelle's "Polyglotta Africana," p. 18.

bidden, and war against infidels is a duty; intercourse with Jews or Christians is not permitted; and the ideal state is one of Moslems only.

What is the relation of the Wahabi reformation and its results to Christian missions among Moslems? The most unfavourable result has been in Arabia itself, by practically building a wall of fanaticism around the old Wahabi state, and postponing the opening of the doors to commerce and Christianity in that part of the peninsula. On the other hand, the positive and negative results of the Wahabi movement on Moslem thought have, I think, had favourable effect on Christian missions. Islam in its primitive state is nearer the truth than Islam with all its added superstitions and additions of later date. The Koran can more easily be made our ally in the battle for the Gospel than the interpretations of the four Imams.

Negatively, Wahabiism is a strong argument that Islam *even when reformed to its original purity,* has no power to save a people. There is no better polemic against Islam than a presentation of the present intellectual, social, and moral condition of Arabia. Cradled at Mecca, fostered at Medina, and reformed at Deraiah, the creed of Islam has had undisputed possession of the entire peninsula almost since its birth. In other lands, such as Syria and Egypt, it remained in contact with a corrupt form of

Christianity, or, as in India and China, in conflict with cultured paganism, and there is no doubt that in both cases there were (and are today) mutual concessions and influences. But in its native Arabian soil the tree planted by the Prophet has grown with wild freedom, and brought forth fruit after its kind. "By their fruits ye shall know them" is Christ's criterion in the study of comparative religions. As regards morality, Arabia is on a low plane. Slavery and concubinage exist everywhere; polygamy and divorce are common. The conscience is petrified; legality is the highest form of worship; virtue is to be like the Prophet. The Arabic language has no everyday word for conscience, and the present book-term does not even occur in the Koran. Intellectually, there has been little progress since "the time of ignorance," when all the tribes gathered at Okatz to compete in poetry and eloquence. The Bedouins are nearly all illiterate; their only writing is the brand-mark on camels. Book-learning in the towns is compressed into the narrow mould of Koran philosophy. Kufa, which was once the Oxford of Arabia, now has one day school with twelve pupils! Fatalism, the philosophy of the masses, has paralyzed progress. Hope perishes under the weight of this iron bondage. Injustice is stoically accepted. The bulk of the people are passive. No

man bears another's burden, and there is no public spirit. Treachery and murder are the steps to petty thrones in free Arabia, and in the Turkish provinces justice is sold to the highest bidder. Cruelty is common. Lying is a fine art, and robbery a science. Islam and the Wahabis have made the hospitable Arabs hostile to Christians and wary of strangers. Over all this hangs a cloak of self-righteousness and formal observances. There is no soporific like the Koran; nothing is so well designed to hush the heart's questionings as a religion that denies the need of an atonement, and promises Paradise to those who accept the *creed* of eight words, no matter what their life may be. There is no hope for Arabia in Islam. It has been tried for 1,300 years, and piteously failed. The Wahabis and their history only emphasize this fact.

III. Syncretism

The Wahabis tried to reform Islam by going back to Mohammed, Al Ghazali, and the Sufis by spiritualizing the traditions. We now come briefly to the third attempt to save Islam at any cost, namely, that of syncretism, and we may well believe that this is the beginning of the end. It is well known that in the second and third centuries of the Christian era when heathenism was about to fall, its last effort to recover footing was by the adoption of Persian,

Indian, and Jewish teaching. Dr. Schaff calls it "the sunset glow" of heathenism, when "men turned wistfully to the past, and especially to the mysterious East, the land of primitive wisdom and religion . . . and all sorts of religions, and all the sense and all the nonsense of antiquity found a rendezvous at Rome." History is repeating itself. Wherever Islam is in close touch with Christianity, new sects have arisen. Babism, Bahaism, and Qadianism are outstanding examples. Each of them and many other movements less prominent and less permanent are attempts to introduce Christian ethics into Islam, to redeem Islam from its mediæval character and to fulfil the hopes of Moslems by the proclamation of new religious leaders, Mahdis or Messiahs, who are inspired of God and are successors of Mohammed. All of them are Moslem sects, however widely they may have departed from Islam as taught in the Koran and in tradition. None of these movements has abandoned either article of the Moslem creed. Jesus remains to them also only one among many prophets, and His teachings are not supreme or authoritative. Mohammed and Mecca continue to stand dominant in the history of religion. Even the Bahais turn to Mecca in prayer, and the Qadiana Moslems of London and Woking profess to believe that the ethics of the Koran is

superior to that of the Bible. A recent number of their paper sets this forth in striking fashion, utterly regardless of the context or the truth of their assertions.

"FOUR VERSES FROM THE BIBLE AND FOUR FROM THE QURAN

The Bible	*The Quran*
1. 'Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother and every man his companion and every man his neighbour.' (Ex. 32:27.)	'There is no compulsion in religion; for the right way hath been made distinct from the wrong.' (2:257.)
2. 'Spare them not but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling.' (1 Sam. 15:3.)	'Fight in God's way with those who fight with you, but transgress not: verily God loveth not those who transgress.'
3. 'Slay utterly old and young, both maids and little children.' (Ezek. 9:6.)	'Whoso kills a soul, unless it be for another soul, or for violence in the land, it is as though he had killed men altogether; but whoso saves one, it is as though he saved men altogether.' (v. 35.)

4. 'Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.'
(Jer. 48:10.)

'And the servants of the Merciful are those who walk on earth with meekness, and when the ignorant address them they say, Peace.' "

One has only to read such magazines as the *Islamic Review,* published in London, or *The Review of Religions,* published in North India, to have constant examples of this method of apologetic and controversy. Some of the educated Indians go even further. Mr. F. K. Brown of Forest Hill, England, writes that he heard a lecturer, Yusuf Ali, of the Indian Civil Service, argue that the regeneration of Moslem India was to be found in the provision of an educated ministry and the adoption of the Congregational system of Church polity, the mosque to become both the social and the educational centre of the people; but the prospect seemed to him wholly chimerical—an impossible blend of the distinctive systems of Christianity with the rigid ritual of the Moslem faith.

Another curious example of syncretism in India is that of the Nazarene New Church, which society would mingle Islam and Christianity in a Unitarian belief. It was founded by Mr. E. J. S. White, a government servant, who became interested in Islam and held that it was really a revival or continuation of the

Nazarene or Ebionite sect, maintaining His pure doctrines which were corrupted by Paul. Mr. White, followed afterwards by Mr. Snow, an Eurasian of Hyderabad, established therefore the New Nazarene Church and published a number of pamphlets. His followers are not numerous and the movement is dying out. Their Prayer Book for Muslims was published at Lahore in 1893 and contained also adaptations of Christian song. The following specimens will be of interest.

"XXI. *Special Prayer*

O God the Creator and Preserver of all mankind we humbly beseech Thee for all sorts and conditions of men, that Thou wouldst be pleased to make Thy ways known unto them, Thy saving Health and True Faith unto all nations. More especially we pray for the good estate of this 'New Church of Islam,' that it may be so guided and governed according to the precepts of the holy Koran, and that further all those who profess and call themselves Deists or Unitarians may be gradually led into the way of Thy Truth and hold the Faith in unity of spirit, bond of peace."

"XXIII. *Islam*

"From England's wintry climate,
From China's picturesque land,
And Africa's sun-burnt brunettes [sic]
Look up and hold their hand;

From Transvaal and from Burma,
Comes forth an earnest strain,
They call us to deliver,
Their lands from error's chain.

"God's purposes they ripen fast,
Unfolded every hour,
The bud may have a bitter taste,
But sweet will be the flower.
Blind unbelief is sure to err,
And criticise in vain,
God is His own interpreter,
And Ahmed makes Him plain."

This White and Snow example of syncretism has apparently had only a short lease of life. Other movements in India have been more successful. A sect which claims to have 500,000 members in various parts of India is the Ahmadiya. It was founded in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who was born at Qadian near Batala about fifty years earlier. He claimed to be the promised Mahdi of the Moslems, the Messiah of the Christians, and the Avatar of the Hindus; and taught that Mohammed revealed the same great truths as are contained in other religions and embodied them in the Koran. Mr. O'Malley writes of the cult in the *Census Report:*

"One significant feature of the cult is its opposition to Christianity. According to Musalman belief, when the end of the world approaches, *Dajjal* (Anti-Christ) will rule, and the powers of evil will reign till Christ reappears, and, with the help of Mahdi,

overthrows *Dajjal* and converts the whole world to Islam. The Ahmadia rejects this doctrine and identifies *Dajjal* with the teachings of the Christian Church, such as the atonement and the divinity of Jesus Christ. In fact, he holds that the prophecy of the advent of *Dajjal* has been fulfilled by the spread of Christian missionaries."

It is unnecessary, however, here to give a special outline of the Ahmadiya teaching. This has been done most thoroughly by Dr. Griswold of the American Presbyterian Mission at Lahore. The latest news in regard to the movement is contained in their own magazine, *The Review of Religions,* where we read that recently they have had over one thousand converts. The programme of their activities is outlined as follows:

1. The establishment of primary schools in various districts of the Punjab.
2. The establishment of a Training College for Moslem Missionaries at Qadian.
3. Translation of the Holy Quran with copious notes, both in Urdu and English.
4. The sending out of Missionaries not only to various parts of India but also to foreign countries.
5. The preparation and circulation of pamphlets on the truth of Islam.

6. Correspondence with seekers after truth all over the world.

7. Reclamation of criminal tribes with the aid of the Government.[1]

The Babis and Bahais are other illustrations of syncretism, but we have no space to treat of these movements here. They profess to be more Christian than Moslem, although the Reverend S. G. Wilson, D.D., has shown in his recent careful investigations that in every respect their ethics is inferior to that of Christianity and in some respects is even inferior to the old Islam.[2]

Our study of all these attempts at reform ends in disappointment. Neither Mysticism, nor Wahabiism, nor Syncretism can save Islam, and yet all of these attempts are proof of the inner revolt against the dead weight of Tradition and the dissatisfaction of the human soul. The Mystic sought a way to God surer and swifter than by the accumulation of merit through prayer and fasting. Others have substituted mediators of their own for the great Mediator and the only atonement, of which Islam is ignorant. One cannot read the pages of these mystics or study the rise of these new sects without finding in them the cry of prodigals who are yet a great way off.

[1] *Review of Religions*, April, 1915, p. 157.
[2] Cf. "Bahaism," by S. G. Wilson. Fleming H. Revell Co.

"Far and wide, though all unknowing,
Pants for Thee each mortal breast;
Human tears for Thee are flowing,
Human hearts in Thee would rest,
Thirsting, as for dews of even,
As the new-mown grass for rain,
Thee they seek as God of heaven,
Thee as Man for sinners slain.

"Saviour, lo! the isles are waiting,
Stretched the hand and strained the sight,
For Thy Spirit, new creating,
Love's pure flame, and wisdom's light;
Give the word, and of the preacher
Speed the foot and touch the tongue,
Till on earth by every creature
Glory to the Lamb be sung."

III

THE POLITICAL COLLAPSE

"The Truth is that, in passing through the European educational mill, the young Egyptian Moslem loses his Islamism, or, at all events, he loses the best part of it. He cuts himself adrift from the sheet-anchor of his creed. He no longer believes that he is always in the presence of his Creator to whom he will some day have to render an account of his actions. . . . More than this, although the Europeanized Egyptian is no true Moslem, he is often as intolerant, and sometimes even more intolerant of Christianity than the old orthodox Moslem, who has received no European education. . . . European civilization destroys one religion without substituting another in its place. It remains to be seen whether the code of Christian morality, on which European civilization is based can be dissociated from the teaching of the Christian religion." —THE EARL OF CROMER: "Modern Egypt."

"It is particularly to be hoped, at a time when public interest has been prominently drawn to the relations and the territories of the European Powers in West Africa, that more attention will be paid in England to the extent and nature of our responsibilities in that region. Nigeria is not merely by far the most considerable of our West African possessions, but the only British Dependency in any part of the world which approaches the Indian Empire in magnitude and variety."—The *Times*, August 12, 1911.

III

THE POLITICAL COLLAPSE

And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever. Forasmuch as thou sawest that a stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream is certain and the interpretation thereof sure.
—DANIEL 2: 44, 45.

IN no respect has the disintegration of Islam and Moslem ideals been so evident as in the world of politics. The Caliphate has been one of the foundations of the Moslem state from the days of Abu Bekr; it will perchance disappear in the suicide of Turkey. Persia has been "strangled" by Russia and England. Egypt has been made a protectorate; Tripoli seized by Italy as the last piece of goods on the bargain counter of Africa; Morocco already belongs to France; only Afghanistan and part of Arabia retain nominal independence and even these wild, lawless lands are already earmarked by Great Britain.

Were Suleiman the Magnificent to come back

and see what was once his great empire divided for ever among the infidel rulers, what would he say in regard to the downfall of Islam? Can we imagine him once the Sovereign of all the near East and all North Africa, standing next to the Turkish commander in that Syrian town where on Friday, November 20, 1914, the omen occurred which, in the judgment of the by-standers, marked the doom of the Caliphate and of Turkey!

It was a stormy day, crowds filling an open space in front of the Seraya or Government House, strings of camels, the German and Austrian Consuls and their Kavasses, the Turkish commander of the city, over the Seraya the Turkish flag wet and limp on a massive flagstaff. While the call was being made, "To the *Jihad,* the Holy War. Let us wipe out the infidel English, French, and Russians. Let us break their power!" something did break—"The flagstaff over the Seraya snapped in two, and the great limp ensign came hurtling down into the very midst of the horrified crowd." It is further observed that the following day, the 21st, the British forces occupied Busrah and the Union Jack was hoisted on the 23rd. Since then a new era has opened for all Mesopotamia. The British forces have had victories at Amara and Ctesiphon and will soon occupy Bagdad. The Battle of Busrah, last Novem-

MOSQUE OF THE PROPHET'S TOMB, EXTERIOR, EL MEDINA.

The most sacred place in the Moslem world next to Mecca. Here Mohammed lies buried. The place where he is buried is separated from the mosque by a passage twenty-six feet wide. It consists of an irregular square of fifty-five feet. There are three tombs, those of Mohammed, Abu Bakr, and Omar, and space is left for the grave of Jesus when he returns to earth. (Cf. Zwemer, "The Moslem Christ," page 108.)

ber, decided the destinies of Mesopotamia. A few weeks ago the cable brought news of a second battle of Nasariyah, in which the Turkish forces were driven back toward Bagdad; and unless all signs fail, the expedition, consisting of Indian troops under British officers, will shortly reach Bagdad, and after that city falls into the hands of the British the whole Mesopotamian Valley will be freed from the dominion of the Turks.

The Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, has recently paid a visit to Kuweit, decorated the ruling chief, and secured the good-will of the Arab tribes. He has also visited Busrah. In both places the American missionaries received grateful acknowledgment for their ministry to the wounded during the war, and he made them a donation in recognition of their services.

The streets of Busrah were cleaned, for the first time in the memory of man, as effectively and as promptly as were the streets of Vera Cruz during the recent American occupation.

The economic future of the Euphrates Valley can be estimated by the fact that here flourished in the days of Nineveh and Babylon a population which has been estimated by Rawlinson at 40,000,000. The population of the region is now a little less than 2,000,000 under modern Turkish misrule. The loss can be attributed chiefly to tribal warfare, to the disap-

pearance of the vast irrigation works of antiquity, and the lack of all enterprise on the part of the Government.

Those familiar with the development of Egypt under British rule believe that Mesopotamia may, under some future Lord Cromer, be equal to at least one, if not two, Egypts in fertility, commerce, and the economic and political happiness of the people. When Sir William Willcocks, the great engineer of the Assuan Dam on the Nile, or his successor completes work on the Euphrates and the Tigris, the same great agricultural transformation which has come to Egypt may be looked forward to in Mesopotamia. One of the great oil deposits of the world is found in this valley, at Mohammerah, and is already being exploited for the supply of the British navy by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company under British direction.

The shadow of these coming events, however, had already rested on the Turkish Empire long before the war broke out with all its horrors. In April, 1914, three months before the European war *Peyam*, a Constantinople paper, contained an indignant, although helpless, protest regarding the political situation:

"A draft of the Franco-German agreement on the Turkish railway and financial questions was initi-

aled at the Foreign Office here [Berlin] at noon today by representatives of both parties. It is in the form of arrangement between the Deutsche Bank, which simultaneously represents the Anatolian and Bagdad Railway Companies, and the Imperial Ottoman Bank, which is acting at the same time for the Syrian Railway Company and the railway company to be formed for the Black Sea basin. The German and French Governments, after examining the agreement, intend to take official cognizance of its contents by means of an exchange of notes. The coming into force of the arrangements is dependent upon an understanding being arrived at by the parties concerned with Turkey upon the questions at issue. We are perfectly aware that Anatolia belongs by right and in fact to us. Anatolia and Arabia are integral parts of the Empire. But the Powers have decided to appropriate to themselves certain privileges in the line of economic enterprises, such as railroads, harbours, and carriage roads. And after seizing these concessions from us in our weakness, they cannot agree among themselves. They negotiate indefinitely. At last France and Germany seem to have agreed on their respective pretensions. The Germans have obtained the construction of the Bagdad railroad, wherefore the French have demanded compensating concessions, as the English did a while ago. England, in order to give her consent in the matter of the Bagdad railroad, demanded to be allowed to participate in the Bagdad-Busrah section; and it was only after having obtained from Germany satisfaction on this point, and from us on

certain others, that she disarmed. France found herself in a similar situation. Not that we had bargained with her over these concessions when we gave her the railway system of the Black Sea slope. What she wished was a connection between this system and the Bagdad line. Germany, who first made difficulties, has ended by granting the wishes of France. All this is quite wounding to our national sentiments. Whose is this property that they are thus dividing up, after all? Surely it is ours. Then why do they dispose of it without even consulting us? Alas! we have voluntarily deprived ourselves of our own rights. We could not carry out these public works ourselves, so we have abandoned them to others. We cannot complain; but it is sad, none the less."

A similar note of despair was heard in the press of Persia and Egypt for many years past. The partition of Africa among the European powers, colonial expansion through trade and diplomacy in the Near East and the Far East, and most of all Turkish misrule throughout all her provinces, are among the reasons why Islam lost its political power.

The distribution of Moslem population according to political rule is graphically shown in the accompanying chart. It is based on conditions before the war and on a carefully prepared census or estimate of Moslem populations made for the quarterly, *The Moslem World.*

(Vol. IV, pp. 145-156). The total population of the Moslem world, according to this new estimate, is 201,296,696. Of these 90,478,111 are under British rule or protection, and 76,596,219 under other Western or Christian Governments in possession of colonies, a total of 167,074,330, equal to eighty-three per cent, and distributed as indicated:

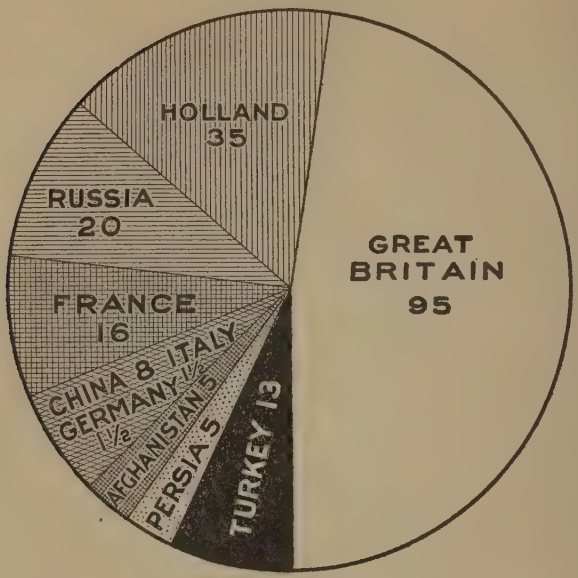
DISTRIBUTION BY GOVERNMENTS.

Under British Rule or Occupation.

In Africa	22,606,344	
In Asia	67,871,767	
Total	90,478,111	

Other Western or Christian Governments.

In Africa:—		
Belgium	60,000	
France	15,085,000	
Germany	1,480,000	
Italy	1,356,000	
Portugal	330,000	
Spain	130,000	
Abyssinia and Liberia	780,000	
		19,230,000
In Asia:—		
United States (Moros)	277,547	
Dutch	35,308,996	
French	232,000	
Russia (Asia and Europe)	20,000,000	
		55,818,543
Europe (outside Turkey)	1,373,676	
America	174,000	
		1,547,676
		76,596,219



DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR MOSLEM POPULATIONS BEFORE THE WAR.

Populations in round millions.

Great Britain ...	95	Turkey	13
Holland	35	China	8
Russia	20	Afghanistan	5
France	16	Persia	5
Germany	1½	Under non-Christian rule.	31
Italy	1½		
Under Christian rule...169			

This leaves only 34,222,366 Mohammedans not under Western governments. Of this number only 13,278,800 are under the Caliphate in the Ottoman Empire, or only six and a half per cent of the whole Moslem world population.

It is evident from this table how Great Britain, Holland, Russia, and France have together a national responsibility for the economic, social, and educational development and welfare of more than 166,000,000 Mohammedans, not to speak of the national responsibility of Italy and Germany for the same problem. This responsibility is not only real, but it is acknowledged by all statesmen who have given serious thought to the matter. The Earl of Cromer's book on "Modern Egypt" and the recent volume by Captain C. W. J. Orr on the "Making of Northern Nigeria" are examples of how this question of the Moslem faith, its character, and its tendencies, cannot be ignored in any colonial policy. Whether Islam is a peril to real civilization or whether it can be used as a stepping stone toward such civilization in Africa is not an open question among missionaries, although it still seems to be on the part of some government officials. Captain Orr writes:

"Even if it be true that Islam lays a dead hand on a people who have reached a certain standard of civilization, it is impossible to deny its quickening

influence on African races in a backward state of evolution. Amongst the pagan tribes of northern Nigeria it is making its converts every day, sweeping away drunkenness, cannibalism, and fetishism; mosques and markets spring into existence, and the pagan loses his exclusiveness, and learns to mingle with his fellow-men. To the negro Islam is not sterile or lifeless. The dead hand is not for him. Not that the spread of Islam amongst pagan tribes is wholly beneficial. Its appeal to his sensual nature is not without its effect. The very civilization which Islam brings, teaches its vices as well as its virtues. But when the balance is struck between Islamism and Paganism there can be but little doubt which of the scales weighs the heavier."

On the other hand at the German Colonial Congress in 1910, held at Hamburg, the Moslem peril in East Africa was fearlessly discussed, and a strong resolution adopted by the whole congress, representing Protestant, Roman Catholic, and socialistic leaders. The text of the resolution is a missionary challenge:

"Since the progress of Islam in our colonies is accompanied by grave perils, this Colonial Congress recommends a thorough study of Moslem propagandism. The Congress is thoroughly convinced that everything which favours the progress of Islam and hinders the progress of Christianity should be avoided, and especially commends the cultural efforts of missionary education and hospital work, to the

support of the Colonial Government. We also recognize in the Moslem peril an urgent challenge to German Christianity to occupy the regions threatened by Islam with missionary effort.'' (Report, p. 62.)

It is remarkable that this result followed a presentation of the subject by Inspector Axenfield, representing Protestant missions; Dr. Hansen, representing the Roman Catholics, and Professor Becker, one of the keenest students of Islam from a secular standpoint. It is yet more remarkable that in five years public opinion should have so utterly changed in Germany through the war; that now she is the ally of Turkey and the instigator of pan-Islamic movements. We will refer later to the reasons for this reversal of opinion.

Of all nations Great Britain's national responsibility for the uplift of the Moslem world stands supreme and colossal. Measured by statistics it includes some 70,000,000 in Asia and over 20,000,000 in Africa. Measured by the strategic position on the map of the world as regards the highways of commerce and the great centres of population, trade, and intellectual culture, there is no nation that can compare with Great Britain. She holds the gates of the world in her possession, and through her naval supremacy and enormous trade, Great Britain comes into contact with the Moslem

populations of all the great ports of the East and the Mediterranean. Cairo, Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Singapore, Aden, and Alexandria are examples of this strategic importance. In the same way England's national responsibility is measured in terms of the stalwart and dominating races which are counted as Moslem, such as the Arabian, Egyptian, Pathan, Hausa, and Bengali races, under her flag.

There is also a sense in which Great Britain's national responsibility is dynamic. To whom much is given from them shall justly much be required. Responsibility in the last analysis means ability to respond. Great Britain not only has political leadership but a moral and spiritual leadership among the nations of Europe which no one can question. No believer in God doubts that there is a definite purpose in all this; and while Great Britain has done much for the economic development of her colonies and possessions, and has also introduced educational reforms and institutions, as well as the "Pax Britannica" which has made possible the proclamation of the Gospel in some lands such as Egypt, there remains much to be desired. Great Britain's neutrality has often been *painful.* Speaking of conditions before the war in British East Africa and in Nigeria, the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, himself a British subject, states: "The Government of British East

Africa seems to aim at conserving Islam wherever it finds that faith. While not actively and officially supporting Islam, the Government—as represented by not a few of its officers—likes to see it supplanting Paganism. At present the Government 'appears to put obstacles in the way of all concerned in seeking to evangelize the people of British East Africa.' So much has this been the case that not long since the various missions sent a special Deputation to urge that the Government should at least be neutral, and no longer use its influence to keep the chiefs and others from Christian teaching, nor show a tendency to encourage Islam as more suitable for the people than Christianity. . . . In Northern Nigeria the Government openly takes the side of Islam and as openly opposes Christian mission-work. Moslem teachers are permitted to propagate their religion quite freely wherever they please, while Christian missionaries are in some cases forbidden access even to Pagan tribes.'' [1] Surely Christian missions and Christendom have a right to demand that nominally Christian governments, although they may not help forward the spread of the Gospel, should at the very least not be permitted to oppose it or thwart the efforts of missionaries. For we must remember that ''occupa-

[1] For further proofs see his article, "Islam and National Responsibility," *Moslem World*, Vol. V, pp. 22-30.

tion'' really means inevitably the disintegration of many Moslem religious institutions and the uprooting of old ideals and standards.

The fact that Islam is, as Lord Curzon puts it, not merely a ''state church'' but a ''church-state'' emphasizes the terrific effect of the impact of western domination on civil and criminal law. Moslem law is closely and fundamentally based upon the Koran and tradition, and the whole conception of the Moslem state from the days of Abu Bekr and Omar until the present excludes the idea of government by aliens, that is by unbelievers in the mission of Mohammed. According to a leading Moslem jurist in India the Koran and tradition both contain the principles of Moslem jurisprudence, and they differ from each other in the same way as the unwritten law of the English lawyers differs from what they call written law.[1] Whole sections of Moslem criminal law, such as deal, for example, with retaliation, the punishment for theft, slavery, apostasy, etc., have been abrogated by colonial governments, British common law or the Code Napoléon having taken the place of mediæval legislation no longer possible under modern civilization.

''Strictures,'' says the author referred to, ''are sometimes passed on the inapplicability

[1] Cf. "Principles of Muhammadan Law," by Faiz Badruddin Tyabji, M.A.

of portions of Muhammadan Law to modern circumstances in British India. The inapplicability must be ascribed, in part at least, to the fact that the substantive law of Islam, so far as it is applied in India, has been divorced from the adjective law. The two form integral portions of one system, and each suffers by a disregard of the other; hence, though the adjective Muhammadan Law is not directly applicable in British India, as such a reference to it may occasionally explain the real scope and effect of the substantive law, and may even be a guide as to how it should operate in particular cases. . . . The Muhammadan law of succession and inheritance is expressly directed by the Legislature to be applied to Mussulmans all over British India, provided that so much of the Muhammadan law and usage as prohibits succession by apostates from Islam will not be enforced in British India." And again he says, "The Muhammadan law of pre-emption is enforced in British India, except in the Madras Presidency, where it has been held to be contrary to justice, equity, and good conscience!" The whole conception, so fundamental in Moslem law, of the Dar ul Islam and the Dar ul Harb or the torture of Moslems and that of infidels, is contrary to the principles of democracy. As regards the Moslem law of marriage and inheritance, such a high authority as

Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje [1] holds that the codification of these laws is undesirable, as many of them are mediæval and in direct opposition to modern civilization and culture. The government should, therefore, allow such laws to fall into disuse.

The character of the mediæval legislation supplanted by western codes of law, but which is still supposed to be in force in some Moslem lands, may be judged from paragraphs taken verbatim from a standard work.[2] "No responsibility is incurred by mortally wounding an infidel not subject to a Moslem prince, or an apostate, even though he should repent of his errors before death. This principle extends also to a master who mortally wounds his slave, and then frees him before his death. Others, however, do not admit impunity in these circumstances, but maintain that one is then liable for the price of blood. Where, on the other hand, one shoots at such infidel, or an apostate or one's own slave, after which the infidel or the apostate is converted, or one frees the slave, before the projectile hits him, our school exacts the price of blood on the higher scale, for killing a free Moslem" (p. 402).[3]

[1] See his book, "Nederland en de Islam," published at Leyden, 1911.

[2] "Minhaj et Talibin: A Manual of Mohammedan Law." By Nawawi. Translated into English from the French by F. C. Howard. Published in London, 1914.

[3] Large sections of the work are simply untranslatable be-

We may rejoice that much of this mediæval code has been abrogated by the progress of civilization, but the fact that it is still *considered* legal and of highest authority is pitiful. What must have been the condition of intolerance when such a paragraph as the following could find a place in Moslem law! And how greatly the relations between Christians and Moslems have changed for the better; although we still have the spirit of the law in the Armenian persecutions. "An infidel who has to pay his poll-tax should be treated by the tax-collector with disdain; the collector remaining seated and the infidel standing before him, the head bent and the body bowed. The infidel should personally place the money in the balance, while the collector holds him by the beard and strikes him upon both cheeks."

When the attempt is made to abrogate or reform the Moslem code the question naturally arises whether these changes and reforms are

cause they deal with marriage and divorce in truly Moslem fashion. But the statement is so often made that missionaries exaggerate when they speak of the social evils of Islam that two paragraphs must be quoted. "A woman, or a hermaphrodite, is worth half a man, whether in a case of homicide or in a case of wounding. A Jew or a Christian is worth the third of a Moslem. A fire-worshipper, or even an idolater who has a safe conduct, is worth a fifth" (p. 414). "When a man has two wives, one an adult and the other still a minor, and the former gives her breast to the latter, not only is his marriage with the child-wife dissolved, as we have already seen, but even the nurse ceases to be his wife, and commerce with her is forever forbidden him" (p. 380).

possible without being anti-religious. Will reformed Islam, even along economic and ethical lines, be Islam any longer? Will it be possible to do away with religious endowments (*Wakf*) and by so doing disinherit as well as disestablish the Moslem Church? Yet this is the very question which is at the basis of real economic progress in many parts of the Moslem world. The whole question of interest and banking is interminably mixed-up with Moslem religious teaching and many still hold that both are more reprehensible than adultery or murder; basing their opinion on a tradition which is undoubtedly genuine. The law regarding apostasy was abrogated at least in the letter even in Turkey long before the Revolution of 1908. When the Persians and the Turks write upon their banners such democratic watch-words as "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," they indicted the teachings of their Prophet and the history of Islam for twelve centuries. For under the old and orthodox Islam there is neither liberty, equality, nor fraternity for non-Moslems. And of these there are hundreds of thousands in both Turkey and Persia. The recent uprisings and massacres have again proved that whatever may have been the immediate cause of the outrages the ultimate cause rests in Islam itself.

The Caliphate as an institution is also funda-

mental in the conception of Islam, and the gradual loss of political power is perhaps more felt because of this institution than for any other reason. Moslems of the new school who are in sympathy with modern civilization and are loyal to the British Government still believe in the Caliphate and in the necessity of its perpetuation.

Syed Amir Ali writing in the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1915, on the subject says:

"For the existence of Islam, therefore, there must always be a Caliph, an actual and direct representative of the Master. The Imamate is the spiritual leadership; but the two dignities are inseparable; the Vice-gerent of the Prophet is the only person entitled to lead the prayers when he can himself be present. No one else can assume his functions unless directly or indirectly 'deputed' by him. For full five centuries Bagdad was the centre of all intellectual activity in Islam; and here the rules and regulations appertaining to the Caliphate, as other matters, secular and religious, were systematized. And the conception that the Caliph-Imam was the divinely appointed Vice-gerent of the Prophet became, as it is today, part of the religious life of the people. It will thus be seen that according to the Sunni doctrines the Caliph is not merely a secular sovereign; he is the spiritual head of a Church and a commonwealth, the actual representative of Divine Government. Speaking as one outside the Sunni sect, but to some extent cognizant of its recognized doctrines

and living sentiments, I believe it would be far more conductive to the well-being of the great communities in whose pacific development England, France, and Russia are interested, to preserve intact the prestige and influence of this sacred institution than to allow it to be thrown into the melting-pot of intestinal discord and schismatic strife."

And in this opinion regarding the importance of the Caliphate and the future of Islam such a high authority as the Earl of Cromer seems to agree. In a recent address he said:

"I naturally speak under correction on a subject of this delicate and difficult nature, but, if I understand rightly, Moslem opinion generally, as regards the position of the Khalif, bears some analogy to that entertained at one time by strong Catholics—and perhaps to some extent still fostered—as regards the temporal power of the Pope. In other words, it is held that the due exercise of the spiritual power cannot be ensured unless the Khalif is placed in a position of assured political independence. Hence, although possibly the substitution of some Khalif other than the Sultan of Turkey might be effected without any very great shock to Moslem opinion and sentiment, the recognition of a Khalif who could directly or indirectly be brought under non-Moslem influences would be strongly resented."

At the present it would be futile to utter any rash prophecy concerning the future of the

Caliphate. So far we have written of conditions before the war, and yet in regard to the results of the present conflagration one thing seems certain, that Turkey will not regain her independence as a sovereign state. The great war has already witnessed many stupendous changes and, whoever may win, the maps of the world will need revision when peace comes. The greatest surprise of the war, however, was the failure of Germany's attempt to provoke a general *jihad*. This was doubtless her intention. As early as 1906 the German traveller, Dr. Karl Peters, spoke of it as possible! "There is one factor which might fall on our side of the balance and in the case of a world-war might be made useful to us: that factor is, Islam. As Pan-Islamism it could be played against Great Britain as well as against the French Republic; and if German policy is bold enough, it can fashion the dynamite to blow into the air the rule of the Western Powers from Cape Nun (Morocco) to Calcutta." In 1914, *The Frankfürter Zeitung* published a message from Constantinople giving an account of the efforts being made in Northern Africa to rouse the local Moslems to a Holy War against the French in anticipation of the Sheik-ul-Islam's action, and states that "Moslems were, in an Arabic proclamation, warned not to fight on the side of France, for France is the enemy

of God, of the Prophet, and of all Moslems. The proclamation points out the oppression of the faithful, and appeals to all Moslems to wage war upon their oppressors and rescue their religion and their honour."

But this Holy War, "made in Germany" was a failure. The Moslems in India remained loyal to the British Government. In Egypt there was no serious disturbance. The Mohammedans of northern Africa were not aroused to the *jihad,* nor were those of Russia. On the contrary from all of these countries troops went to fight in the trenches with the allies against Turkey and Germany. The reasons for the failure of Germany's attempt to stir up a pan-Islamic movement have been cleverly and fearlessly pointed out by Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje in his book.[1] This little volume throws so much light on the real situation that we give a summary of its arguments. "It seems inexplicable to me," says the author, "that my esteemed colleague, Professor C. H. Becker, at Bonn, who until recently honourably represented the science of Islam in the Colonial Institute at Hamburg, should also have been swept away by the incredible *jihad*-craze, which at present seems to possess German statesmen." Until recently Becker ("through ignorance" he

[1] "The Holy War: 'Made in Germany.'" New York and London, 1915.

now confesses) "considered the emphasizing of the Caliph-title by Germany a mistake," but since then he has joyfully discovered that the Kaiser's visit to Damascus in 1898 and the subsequent policy of Germany in Turkey give proof that her statesmen have from the first "taken Islam into account as an international factor." The Mohammedans of the educated classes are "almost ashamed of the presumption expressed by the teaching of the *jihad,* and try hard to prove that the law itself restricts its application to circumstances which do not occur any more." The Caliphate itself had long become an empty honour, and was not even acknowledged in countries outside of the sphere of Turkish influence. In Morocco it was ignored and in Persia it was not recognized. Nor could the Young Turks any more than Abd-ul-Hamid put real life into the Caliphate. "That gang of shallow intriguers was little qualified to lead a serious international movement." Pan-Islamism's programme, he says, is "worn out and flagrantly impracticable." After showing the wrong conception prevalent, even among statesmen, regarding the idea of a *jihad* as a *special* Mohammedan religious war, the author rightly states that for no Moslem does the question have any meaning "whether the Sultan has decreed a holy war." For the true Moslem there is no war except against infidels, and *all*

wars are, therefore, religious. The remainder of the book, pp. 34-82, introduces Germany and her spokesmen, especially Hugo Grothe, Becker, and Hartmann. All of them are shown to be at sea regarding the facts, and at pains to make the worst appear the better reason for this Holy War against the Allies. "What may not Turkey exclaim *now,*" he says (quoting Hartmann's word a few years ago, "Turkey can only exclaim, 'Heaven protect me against my friends' "), "now, that her best friend is exciting her to religious war, and presently turns over to her the Mohammedan prisoners who fought against Germany in order to submit them to a political-religious conversion cure?" The result of Germany's attempt to fire the magazine of Moslem fanaticism, we may thank God, was not as expected. And we agree with Dr. Hurgronje that "within a not very long time a number of German writings will testify that also in Germany indignation has been aroused by the despicable game that is being played with the Caliphate and the holy war."

The issue of this "Holy War" can only be the suicide of Turkey, as was pointed out by the vice-president of the Moslem League in Bombay:[1] "Turkey is today a mere tool used to serve Germany's ends. Were those ends to be

[1] "The Suicide of Turkey." By Cassamally Jairazbhoy. Bombay, 1914.

attained, tomorrow would witness the scornful crushing of Turkey by the Power whose ruler Kaiser William—boasts that to him an oath is not sacred, and a treaty no more than a scrap of paper to be thrown away or torn up as may be convenient." And he continues: "It will be seen from the foregoing how Germany reckoned on stirring up a great pan-Islamic movement that would prove a source of embarrassment to the British and the French. The result of all their intrigues has been a failure as complete as it is inglorious. In India above all Germany hoped to rouse Mohammedans against the Government. But no people have been more sincere than the Mohammedans of this country in their devotion to the British Raj and in their offers of service against the enemy."

Whatever may be the final results of the great European war in Europe itself, or in regard to the colonial expansion or loss of the European Powers in Africa and Asia, one thing is certain —pan-Islamism in its political aspirations has suffered a death-blow. The dynamite undoubtedly existed. Moslem fanaticism is always a dangerous element to Christian civilization and the religious orders of Islam are ever ready to put the firebrands of discontent under the smouldering thought of the masses who believe that fraternity extends only to true believers, and that contempt, hatred, and war, are due

to the infidel. In spite of every effort, however, they have not been able to stir up a solidarity of feeling in the Moslem world, or to break down the loyalty of Moslems in India, Algeria, or Egypt.

Many Moslems of the educated classes are wise enough to be resigned to the present political situation. They realize that the time is not yet come for national independence. The nationalists' programme in Turkey, Persia, and Egypt has not proved a success. A Moslem writer in India expresses himself in these words: "God is not like a foolish father who gives a knife to the baby, simply because it cries for it, to hurt its own self. We must take things as they are. As long as we are not sufficiently advanced we must live under the protection of some foreign Power and the Power under which we live is the best in the world now."

At the same time Moslems are not blind to the significance of the utter disintegration and collapse of Moslem rule. The present head of the Ahmadiyah movement writes in *The Review of Religions* for September, 1915:

"Today the Mussulmans are to be found in every corner of the earth and Islam claims its followers among all ranks of people. And though much of the former glory and power have been lost, there are still left a few ruling states which yet profess the

faith. But withal it is apparent that the hearts of Mussulmans at large are fast sinking at the thought of the future of Islam. There are thousands, nay, millions of Muslims who, at the sight of the power of Europe and its daily rising tide, have already come to the conclusion that for Islam to continue in its career of Saviour of Nations, nay even to maintain its position, is now a thing outside the range of possibility. Nay, many a foolish one has gone so far as to predict that within a hundred years Islam will be obliterated from the face of the earth. As a matter of fact, the way in which at the present time Islam is being assailed from all sides, and every religion is treating Islam as the one common object of its onslaught, is sufficient to shake the heart of every shallow observer. And this is why the educated section of the community, who are acquainted with the condition of the times, are in a state of utter despair, and consider it but a bootless toil to take any measure or to make any endeavour for the regeneration of Islam. Such is the condition of the generality of Muslims of the present age, when in spite of there being myriads of them, they have reached the state of such utter despair.

". . . What is the condition of Islam today? Country after country is passing out of the hands of the Mussulmans. Nay, rather, they have already lost them all and one by one all the kingdoms have been snatched away from them. It is true, kingdoms and nations do, in the nature of things, come to an end and no one familiar with history finds any reason for surprise in their ruin. For just as the individual is

subject to death, so also the life of kingdoms and nations cannot help being affected by the passage of time. The nation, that today holds the rule, does tomorrow lead a life of dishonour and dependency. Thus it is a sign of ignorance to grieve over the fall of any nation. But the case becomes peculiarly significant when we find a number of kingdoms belonging to different peoples and situated in different parts of the world, but all professing one common faith, following one another in ruin in such quick succession. It is possible that the different dependencies of one empire may descend the steps of decline at one and the same time, because it often happens that there is a similarity in the condition of the different parts of one empire. But when kingdoms situated so wide apart as Algeria, Morocco, Tripoli, Egypt, India, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, the Philippines, the Sudan, Abyssinia, established at diverse times and flourishing under the auspices of different nations all come to an end almost simultaneously and the rule is everywhere transferred from Muslim to non-Muslim hands, the events prove that the fall has a special significance and is not the result of occurrences that happen every day.

"In short, the natural condition of the Mussulmans is so weak that a materialist is forced to exclaim that the end of Islam is now at hand, and that within a few days there will be, for Islam, not a place to hide its head. The sight of such a predicament is sure to pain every sympathetic heart, and I know not if there is any Muslim who can view the plight without experiencing a pang."

RAILWAY STATION AND TERMINUS OF THE HEJAS RAILWAY, EL MEDINA.

This railway extends from Damascus all the way to Medina and was built through the enterprise of the late Sultan Abdul Hamid, partly as a military measure to unify his tottering empire. The actual construction was by a German engineer, Meisner Pasha. One thousand, three hundred seven metres was opened to traffic before the war. The road was built by public subscription throughout the whole Moslem World.

Should the Allies win doubtless all the African colonies of Germany would pass to France and Great Britain which would mean the transfer of 1,500,000 more Moslem subjects. An Egyptian paper stated (October, 1915) that since the war began the British Empire had grown 3,236,000 square miles in extent—adding together as new British possessions:

	Sq. Miles
Egypt	400,000
Sudan	984,000
Cyprus	3,600
Arabia	1,200,000
German S. W. Africa	322,450
Togoland	33,700
Cameroons	191,200
German New Guinea (including Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, The Bismarck Archipelago and the Caroline, Pelew, Marshall, Solomon and Marianne groups of islands)	100,000

When we read such items we are reminded of Mark Twain's words, "The meek shall inherit the earth—look at the British!"

The history of colonial expansion in Africa and Asia will only be repeated in those regions which before the war were still independent or semi-independent. The result is inevitable and the process strangely familiar. First one hears of "spheres of influence," then of "pacific penetration" by commerce, and finally the result is a protectorate or annexation! Who can arrest and who can regret the process?

The danger of the new situation, however,

is real. It is that of favouritism or compromise on the part of those Christian Governments whose national responsibility for millions of Moslem subjects has been increased or emphasized through their loyalty. If new Egypt is not to have a new Sabbath, and if the suppression of vice and the liquor traffic does not follow in some measure the suppression of the capitulations, if restrictions should be put upon mission work, such as now exist in Nigeria and the Sudan, then the second state of Egypt as regards the Kingdom would be worse than the first. We may hope, however, that with all due regard for the sentiments and religious feelings of their Moslem subjects, no Christian Government will, after the war, strengthen such Mohammedan institutions as are diametrically opposed to the economic and social progress of the people; to bolster up Mohammedanism would be a suicidal policy for any Western Government. If the Caliphate should disappear with the fall of Turkey, no one need mourn the painless dissolution of that which has only had existence on paper for many decades. It will make little difference to the economic progress or the social uplift of the Moslem world whether the Caliphate, since it can no longer be independent, is under the direction of France in Morocco, or of England in Egypt or Arabia, or becomes the glory of some native Moslem

prince in India. The guardianship of the sacred cities is doubtless an important question for Moslems, but the world of Islam and the religion of the Prophet must look forward to the day when Mecca and Medina will be as accessible as Benares and Lhasa, as Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

IV

THE NEW ISLAM: HAS IT A FUTURE?

"The fact, if it be a fact, that Mohammedanism is a declining factor in the religious life of the world, is one which may be regarded from very different points of view. If we believe that Christianity was intended for the whole human race, and if we are prepared to make a sacrifice in order to impart to Moslems the truths which distinguish Christianity from Islam—truths such as the Fatherhood of God, the possibility of reciprocating the Divine love, and the equality of the sexes, and of all branches of the human race in the sight of God—then may we regard the decline of the power of Islam as affording an unique opportunity for the further spread of the Christian faith. God forbid, however, that we should look with satisfaction on the decline of Islam, or that we should do anything to weaken the faith of a single Moslem in his Prophet, unless we are prepared to offer him what we believe to be a truer faith in its place."—REV. CHARLES H. ROBINSON: "Mohammedanism: Has it any Future?"

IV

THE NEW ISLAM

And no man putteth a piece of undressed cloth upon an old garment; for that which should fill it up taketh from the garment, and a worse rent is made. Neither do men put new wine into old wine-skins: else the skins burst, and the wine is spilled, and the skins perish: but they put new wine into fresh wine-skins, and both are preserved.—MATT. 9: 16-17.

THE intellectual awakening of the Moslem world is due to two causes,—the impact of European civilization, its best and its worst, and the political influence, and in consequence the domination of Moslem lands by western powers, as we have seen in our last chapter. Not only was Islam as a political system, as a Church State, compelled to readjust itself to the new conditions, but at a hundred points the old Moslem civilization was itself compelled to give way to a new civilization from the West. The words of Lord Bryce are terribly true:

"We have disturbed their ancient ways of life for our own interests, because we went among them, some few doubtless with a desire to do good, but the great majority from a desire to make money and to exploit

the world's resources for the purposes of commerce. . . . Are we to do this and yet not be responsible in God's sight if we fail to exert all our efforts to give these people by our own conduct a just view of the Christianity we desire to impart to them?''

The highways of commerce between the East and the West touch the Moslem world at all its great centres. Algiers, Alexandria, Constantinople, Bombay, and Calcutta were the first to be influenced, but from decade to decade ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century the West has penetrated ever more deeply into the farthest corners of the East. We can best understand the significance of this by quoting Mohammed Sarfaran Khan of Naini Tal, India, one of the speakers at the Moslem Religious Congress. His address was published in the *Moslem Chronicle* of Calcutta, in 1902.

''With the growth of European civilization and the cultivation of English manners among our educated classes, the question of our religious requirements and how best they can be met is becoming more and more prominent day by day, and it is worth while discussing the question, especially as we have fortunately among us a few eminent persons who are fully alive to the growing needs of the modern civilization and have also keen sympathy for the spiritual welfare of their community. . . . The majority of the well-to-do Mussulmans will be seen possessed of European civi-

lization and manners; our ways, our dress, and even our food will be changed, and last, though not least, our thoughts will also be completely changed. You cannot certainly check the growth of civilization, even if it should seem to parade against your fixed notions of religion. . . . The rudimentary principles of Islam, such as to believe in the unity of God, to acquiesce faithfully in the teachings of the prophet, to admit the necessity for prayer, fastings, etc., and conforming to them practically, must be held sacred and adhered to till the last. The changes to be introduced will then be of the following nature. These changes, or at least some of them, though not formally sanctioned by the spiritual authorities, have virtually been imperceptibly adopted by many of the enlightened Mussulmans, and are not only the outcome of their practical and honest everyday life, but are also the dictates of their conscience."

Mohammed Sarfaran Khan then sums up the changes which he thinks desirable: Prayers should be made less frequent and at more convenient hours; the rules of ablution should be relaxed to meet with modern conditions, and concerning the fast of Ramadhan he says: "Cannot the hours be curtailed, light refreshments allowed at intervals, and the Tarawis recited, or, better still, lectured to a sitting audience?" He is utterly opposed to polygamy and says the purdah system must be modified. After indicating all these radical changes in the

old Islam, it is interesting to note that he adds, "There are many other sundry little things to be added to this list."

Together with these attempts at modification of the Moslem ritual and its ethical code, there are those bold enough to plead for the vernaculars as religious languages rather than Arabic. James Monro of Bengal quotes a Mohammedan writer on the subject:

"What is now called religion is simply a lifeless form. A man mumbles certain sounds, and makes flexions of the body, and he has done all that this religion requires of him to do. He is now at liberty to go and cheat his employer, render false accounts, and speak a multiplicity of lies. . . . The Ulema have always been against a diffusion of knowledge; they wish to keep the Book of God, and all religious books, in a foreign and unknown tongue. They desire to keep the people in ignorance and superstition, so that their influence and power may continue unabated. . . . It is futile to hope for the regeneration of our community by means of a revival of Arabic literature. . . . Historical works in the Arabic language are a bare narration of occurrences, and were written at a time when there was no idea of the sequence of events in the history of human affairs, so that we must have recourse to English for the acquisition of the knowledge of history as well as science, or we must place this knowledge before our young men in the garb of their spoken language. . . . The translation of the Koran will be regularly read, and our people

will not have the mummery which is now called religion, but will have true religion as their constant reference and real guide."

Another writer expresses himself even more strongly: "Mohammedanism, as it is generally believed by the Mohammedans, is a mere cant. It has lost its force. It has no stimulating influence on the minds of the believers. . . . The present Islam is a series of questionable doctrines set forth by Abu Hanifa Hambal, and Melik." Such views are naturally considered rank heresy by the orthodox party. Although they cannot deny that Islam is in need of reform, they hope the reform will be a return to primitive Islam rather than an abandonment of its early principles and practices.

The party of reform has its advocates not only in Turkey and Egypt and India, but even in Arabia and Morocco as well. Their voice is by the press rather than the mosque pulpit and is intensive rather than extensive in its influence. The new Islam had its origin in India. Reform movements began soon after the Mutiny (1858) under the leadership of Syed Ahmad Khan. He grasped the real value of British rule in India, was loyal during this trying period, and saw clearly that the greatest need of the Mohammedans in India was education and social reform. He established English

schools, published pamphlets, visited England, and on his return to India began a monthly periodical in Urdu called *Tahzibu'l Akhlaq* or Reform of Morals. This active propagandism was followed by persecution; they even threatened to kill him. But he continued faithful to his ideals and succeeded in establishing the Anglo-Mohammedan College at Aligarh. The object of this institution was to give Moslems an English education without prejudice to their religion and, in the words of the prospectus, "To organize a boarding-house to which a parent may send his son in the confidence that the boy's conduct will be carefully supervised, and in which he will be kept free from the temptations which beset a youth in big towns." Neither of these objects seem to have been realized, although as an educational institution of high grade, the college has proved greatly successful. When I visited the institution in 1904 and again in 1911, conversation with the principal and with the boys themselves clearly showed that the tendency of Aligarh was to lead young men to unbelief, or at best to an indefinite Unitarianism. Although attendance at prayers was compulsory and the Koran was a prescribed text-book, many of the Moslem students showed little interest in Islam.

The following extracts from the Rules and Regulations in regard to religious instruction

are very interesting, especially as I remember how the boys at the college were quite unwilling to observe these rules and made sport of the facilities, recently introduced, for washing before prayers. They said the weather was too cold in any case to wash so early in the morning:

"All Mohammedan boarders shall pray five times a day, and, except in case of any reasonable excuse, fast in the month of Ramadhan, and such boarders for whom the same is appointed shall read the Quran at fixed hours.

"Maulvis of well-known learning and piety have been specially appointed to supervise the religious life of the students and conduct the prayers in the college mosque.

"Religious instruction is given to Mussulman students, to Sunnis by a Sunni, and to Shiahs by a Shiah; the books of theology taught are prescribed by committees of orthodox Sunnis and Shiahs, respectively.

"The first period of each day's work is devoted to the lectures on theology, and attendance at these lectures is enforced by regulations as stringent as those regulating the ordinary class work of the college.

"Attendance at prayers in the college mosque is also compulsory, and students who are irregular are severely punished."

In spite of these regulations, it is the general opinion in India that Aligarh College, although

it has a good record for scholarship, does not produce strong character, nor are those that graduate Moslems at heart. Mr. Mohammed Aziz Maqdoum in trying to defend Aligarh and in pleading for a Mohammedan University, wrote in the *Muslim Review* (1910): "The truth is that western education as imported at present demolishes the old building of one's beliefs, but does not arrange for the construction of another and more beautiful. The mind is unhinged; it knows not where to go to find repose, till at last Jeremy Bentham and Herbert Spencer dawn to it as embodiments of sound logic, wisdom, and commonsense. The consequence is not very pleasant to look upon. The Hindu rails against the rulers, the Muslim turns traitor to the traditions of unflinching loyalty to Islam. Islam is a dead letter in educated circles. Where the Koran was read daily in the morning formerly, there, now, the *Pioneer* [1] has taken its place."

In religion Sir Syed Ahmad and his followers were rationalistic Mohammedans, liberal in their view of Christianity. Syed Ahmad did not believe that the Christians had corrupted the text of the Old and New Testament. On the contrary he began to publish a commentary on Genesis, of which one volume has been printed. It is interesting from every point of view: a

[1] An English daily newspaper published in Allahabad.

volume of 398 pages in Urdu and Arabic parallel columns, printed privately at Ghazeepore in 1862. In the preliminary discourse, which occupies 250 pages, the author gives an account of the character of revelation, the classification of the books of the Bible, the translations of the Scriptures, the apocryphal books, and the chronology of the Old Testament. In the Commentary on Genesis the author gives the Hebrew text as well and compares the story with that given in the Koran. It is unfortunate that this work was never completed.

More remarkable still was his view of Koran inspiration. He believed it contained human elements as well as divine. He made much of reason and said it was sufficient guide to interpret revelation. He spoke and wrote in favour of natural religion and, therefore, his followers in India are called *Naturis* or *Necharis* even in census reports. Syed Amir Ali and Maulvie Chiragh Ali accepted these principles and propagated them in their books. Amir Ali's "Spirit of Islam" is perhaps the most clever, although in a sense unscrupulous, apology for Mohammedanism in the English language. He holds that the Koran really discourages slavery, religious war, polygamy, and the seclusion of women.

Syed Amir Ali has had his followers, but competent observers are of the opinion that

the current toward rationalism in Islam has already spent itself and that there is rather a relapse toward a passive acceptance of Moslem orthodoxy. There is no doubt, however, that the movement has tended to increased openness and fairness of mind among the educated classes. In 1885 there was founded in the city of Lahore a society for the defence of Islam called *Anjuman-i-Himayet-i-Islam*. In the prospectus the objects of this society are set forth as follows:

1. (*a*) Rationally and intelligently to answer, through verbal discussion or in writing, any accusations advanced against Islam, and to further its propagation.

(*b*) To impart suitable and necessary education to Muslim boys and girls, and save them from abjuring their own true faith.

(*c*) To take upon itself the maintenance and education, to the best of its ability, of Muhammadan orphans, and to render all possible educational aid to poor Muslim boys and girls, so as to save them from falling into the hands of the followers of other religions.

(*d*) To improve the social, moral, and intellectual condition of the Muslim community and initiate measures conducive to the creation and preservation of friendly feelings and concord toward the different sects of Islam.

(*e*) To bring home to the Muhammadans the advantages of loyalty to the British Government.

II. For the realization of its objects, the Anjuman shall appoint preachers, issue a monthly magazine, establish educational institutions and orphanages, and make use of other necessary means.

While the theology of this school is professedly orthodox their methods are thoroughly modern. They favour female education and have nine girls' schools at Lahore, also an Arts College, called the Islamia College, with 200 pupils. The propaganda organized is rather to withstand and hinder the work of missions than to preach among the low castes. In 1894 another defence association was formed called *Nadwat-ul-Ulama,* with its central office in Lucknow. Their methods are similar. They advocate social reform and publish a magazine. A third society of the same nature has organized a theological seminary at Cawnpore. At other centres there are similar movements. Perhaps special mention should be made of the Mohammedan Book and Tract Depot at Lahore.

In regard to all these movements for the defence of Islam in India, Mr. J. N. Farquhar, in his recent book "Modern Religious Movements in India," rightly states: "The triumphant revival of the old religions, with their growing bodyguard of defence organizations, has been accompanied by *continuous and steadily increasing inner decay.* This most significant of

all facts in the history of these movements seems to be scarcely perceived by the leaders." And although he speaks more particularly of the movements in Hinduism, what he says applies also to Islam. Christ's parable of the leaven has its application today. All these reform movements owe their impetus to Christianity. To quote once more from Mr. Farquhar: "Every student will notice how remarkably close the parallel is between the revival of the ancient religions of the Roman Empire in the early Christian centuries and these movements in India in our own days."

When we turn from India to Turkey and hear the voice of its reformers who are advocating a new Islam as the hope, social and political, for the Ottoman Empire, the protest against the old religion is equally strong. In a series of Moslem sermons preached at Constantinople just after the proclamation of the Constitution, Ahmed Na'im Effendi demanded the reform of the Moslem pulpit, the removal of hypocrites from power, and advocated that preachers must be men of common sense who must know "how to guide to the virtues of thrift a nation which prefers vain acts of religious worship" to moral conduct.

"Picture him to yourself," he says, "as he mounts that exalted place without any share of the rich capital of learning. In order to hold

TYPE OF MODERN MOSLEM SCHOOL, NAMPALLI, INDIA.

Showing the contrast in dress, equipment, method of instruction, as compared with El Azhar.

the attention of the audience, as best his wits suggest, he begins to whack the desk, and in order to entertain the assembly, he begins to busy the hour with fables which circulate among the vulgar throng. These fabulous inventions, to which God and His Prophet are foreign, lead the people astray. Hundreds of our young men, who have not learned anything at home or at school concerning the religion, are by these fables thrown into misapprehension and suspicion about the faith of Islam. These fables make patriotic Moslems indignant. They are the occasion for foreigners to deride us with laughter. At last the time for putting an end to this state of affairs has come."

Another preacher in the same pulpit summarized the causes of Moslem decline as due to a "departure from the fundamentals, divergence of sects, criticisms from hostile persons, lack of freedom to make the necessary defence, selfish considerations, the new current of European philosophy, deliberate misinterpretations, failures to be aware of the situation, the daily degeneration of the national morality, and the despotic ideas which have been dragged along from the end of the Rashid Caliphate."

In Russia the leading spirit of reform has been Ismail Gasprinsky Bey, who, as editor and journalist, has exercised a wide influence not

only among the Mohammedans of Russia, but in India and the Near East. He proposed a Pan-Islamic Congress in Cairo; edited a critical text of the Koran which, strange to say, was copyrighted, took a journey to India to advocate educational reform among the Mohammedans, secured the translation of Kasim Amin Bey's book on the New Woman, and in many other ways influenced the educated Moslems of Russia until today they are perhaps the most advanced of all Mohammedans of that school.

The Press

From all that has been said you see that the power of the press is the main propagating agency of this new Movement. Moslems understand as Christians should that no agency "can penetrate among the masses so deeply, abide so persistently, witness so daringly and influence so irresistibly as the printed page." The high percentage of illiteracy in Moslem lands is, of course, a barrier to the progress of ideas among the masses, but on the other hand, the fact should be emphasized that the five or ten per cent of the people who are able to read are *ipso facto* the leaders and are looked up to as men of authority.

It is in the Moslem press that we can best study the conflict which began only a few dec-

ades ago and is still going on ever more fiercely between the old and the new schools of thought. When the new Islam used the press as a propagating agency, the old Islam was compelled to use it in self-defence, with the result that nothing is more interesting to the missionary than to study the thought of the people as reflected in the press. The enormous growth of journalism—a mushroom growth in most cases—is itself very significant. Many of the newspapers and periodicals were suppressed by the Governments of Persia, Turkey, and Egypt, some even in India. Others were voices crying in the wilderness and had not sufficient support to win a hearing. By means of these newspapers, books, pamphlets, and leaflets, however, each Mohammedan country is kept in communication with all others. Especially is this true of Arabic and Persian journalism. Cairo is the intellectual centre of the Moslem world and also of the Arabic press. Constantinople has had its influence as the city of the Caliphate, but Turkish is not a world language. In regard to Persian, however, we must bear in mind that it lies in the centre of the Mohammedan area of Asia and has for centuries had intellectual supremacy even in India, that this language, as a Moslem expressed it, has "Aryanized" the Mohammedan religion.

The history of the press in modern Persia has followed closely the constitutional movement. Professor Edward G. Browne, who has written a most interesting monograph on the subject, with facsimile reproductions of some of the cartoons, gives a list of 371 newspapers and journals that have been published in Persia in recent years. Many of these are now defunct, yet it would seem as if Persians really thought they could save their country by shedding ink. Some of the editors, however, laid down their lives in the struggle for or against Constitutional liberty. Some of these newspapers were published under great difficulty. "One was published secretly, and the issue was limited to 300 copies, which were placed in envelopes like letters and sent with various precautions to statesmen, theologians, merchants, and others in Persia. Often, in order to conceal the place of publication, they were first sent to Paris, London, etc., to be forwarded thence to Persia. At the top of one copy stands the inscription, 'Published once in forty years.'" The political and patriotic poetry which appeared in these journals is deeply interesting. They throw much light on the history of the Persian Revolution and the events that have followed. A hopeless pessimism characterizes most of this poetry, however, and Islam seems doomed.

"I see the Standard of the Faith reversed by the hands of the infidels!
A thousand times, alas! May my pen break! Mosque and Mihrab
I see obliterated under the feet of the Christians!"

The extent and character and the enormous influence of the Arabic press may be judged from a collection of Arabic newspapers gathered by Count de Terrazzi and recently purchased in Beirut for the Hamburg Kolonial Institut. The collection includes:

1. 455 specimens of *daily Arabic newspapers,* distributed as follows: Cairo, 96; Alexandria, 28; the rest of Egypt and the Sudan, 6; Beirut, 60; Jerusalem, 5; Constantinople, 16; Jaffa, 3; Bagdad, 33; Busrah, 9; Tripolis (Syria), 9; Damascus, 22; Hama and Homs, 11; Lebanon, 24; Aleppo, 15; Ladikijja, 3; the rest of Turkey, 13; Europe (Paris, 12; London, 4; Sardinia, Malta, St. Petersburg), 21; Algiers, 6; Morocco, 3; Tunis, 26; Tripoli, 3; New York, 12; Buenos Ayres, 5; St. Paulo, 8; Rio de Janeiro, 3; Montreal, 3; the rest of America, 8; Zanzibar, 2; Singapore, 2.

2. 239 *journals,* distributed as follows: Cairo, 121; Alexandria, 24; the rest of Egypt, 7; Beirut, 34; Constantinople, 1; Jaffa 1; Bagdad, 4; Tripolis (Syria), 3; Damascus, 5; Hama and Homs, 4; Lebanon, 8; Aleppo, 2; the rest of Turkey, 6; Marseilles, 1; Algiers, 1; Morocco, 1; Tunis, 4; Lucknow, 1; New York, 5; Buenos Ayres, 3; St. Paulo, 2; Montreal, 1.

It is significant of the rapid development of the Arabic press that Professor Martin Hartmann in his book, "The Arabic Press in Egypt," published in 1898, gave 168 as the number of newspapers and journals in that country. In this collection there are 282 and doubtless many have been started and failed within the intervening fifteen years. It would be safe to say that five-sixths of all these papers are under Moslem direction and are read by Mohammedans.[1]

[1] The present list of Arabic and Foreign papers published in Cairo is as follows:—

ARABIC NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Al Mokattam
Al Ahram
Al Moeyyad
Al Watan
Misr
Al Jarida
Al Afkar
Al 'Amran
Al Mahrousa
Al Manar
Al Moktataf
Al Hilal
Al Mohit
Al Majnun
Fatat-ash-Shark
Misr el Fattat
Al Mahakem
Musamarat - esh - Sha'ab
Al Istiklal
Al Masamir
Al Meftah
Al Tewfik
Al Gins-al-Latif
Tawah al Molouk
Hakmat
Gahrat
Wadi en Nil
Al Ahali
Al Akhbar
Risalat Allah
El Huda
Al Alam
Al Lewa
Al Adab
Al Barid al Masri
Buq el Kadasa
Al Affaf
Al Waqai el Masriah
Ash Shark w'al Gharb
Al Hayat
Al Huqouq
Sarkis
At Ta'awin al Islamy
Basha'ir es Salam
Tabib el Al'la
Al Fadila
Ash Sha'ab
Sehion
As Sa'ada
Al Majjala al Arabia
Majjalat es Sidq el Othmani
Sada an Ne'ma w'al Haqq
Al Kaenat
Mizan al Eitedal
Az Zoohour
Ar Rewayat al Jadida
As Seif
Al Bayan
Ar Raqquib
Al Watania
Al Karma
Ramsis
Al Mo'allem
El Ittehad

Total, 64.

In regard to Russia, a recent number of *Revue du Monde Musulman* gives statistics of that country as a literary centre for Mohammedans. During the year 1912, 631 new publications appeared from the Moslem press. Of these no less than 249 were published at Kazan; 64 at Orenbourg; and these two places are the chief centres of literary effort, although we must not forget Bakou and Tiflis. According to the statistics given, the largest number of books were in Arabic; the next largest in Sart; 178 were religious publications; 95 classical publications; 35 poetry; 80 general literature; 24 books for children; 24 theatrical publications; 13 on geography, and 10 on social questions.

EUROPEAN PAPERS

Le Journal du Caire
Le Progres
La Bourse Egyptienne
L'Egypt & Egyptian Morning News
L'Imperziale
Kairon
Chronos
Egyptian Daily Post
Loussaper
Phos
Sphinx
Agyptische Nachrichten
Archolovice
Dépêche Télégraphique
Ikaros
L'Echo d'Egypt
The Sporting Review
La Revue Egyptienne
Cairo Scientific Journal
The Egyptian Mail
La vie Egyptienne
Cairo Y. M. C. A.
Cairo Sports
La Gazetta
Daphni
The Times
The Students' Aid
Museum
Le Nil
Le Journal de Hilwan
La Santé (avec édition Arabe)
Hossank
Mioutoum
La Griffe

Total, 36.

Arabic 64
European 36

100

Only 3 of the books printed were suppressed by the Russian Government.

In regard to the press of Turkey I must mention *Kadinlar Dunyassi* (The Feminine World), a weekly illustrated paper devoted to women's interests, whose pages are open to any woman writer who cares to contribute. It was started, first of all, as a daily illustrated paper—rather an ambitious idea, but as such it was a failure, and was, therefore, quickly converted into an illustrated weekly. The proprietor and editress of the paper, Oulvyé Mevlane Hanoum, had no experience whatsoever either of editing or of the business side of running a paper; therefore, the result of her effort is doubly interesting. She understood that if a serious society for the advancement of women was to be founded they must have an organ in which to explain their views. She saw the need, and she supplied it.

The Javanese press and that of the Malay Peninsula is not as extensive as that of the Near East, but it is no less influential. Singapore and Batavia are the great centres of literary activity. One of the Javanese papers has a regular correspondent at Al Azhar University. The press at Singapore, as well as at such isolated centres as Mauritius, Zanzibar, and Colombo, generally gets its information and outlook from the press in India.

A Moslem Congress of the *Sharikat el Islam*

was recently held at Solo, Java, when not less than 30,000 people were present. One thousand six hundred native workmen on the States railway received permission to attend. The president of the Congress was Hajji Samanhoedi, and the vice-president R. M. Tdokroaminoto, a journalist of Surabaja. The latter opened the Congress in an address of welcome, in which he paid a tribute to H. M. Queen Wilhelmina of Holland. He stated that the object of the Sarikat Islam (Javanese for Sharikat el Islam, or Moslem Union) was to further Mohammedan interests and the Moslem faith, native industries, freedom, and brotherhood. The Sarikat Islam seems in some respects to be a successor of the Boedi Oetama, the Young Javanese movement for self-government and nationalism, but is on a larger scale and appears more religious in character, the former being largely political. At Modjo-Warno the native Christians have started a society in opposition to the Sarikat el Islam, and they already have many members. One of the missionaries writes, "What the future of the movement will be no one can say, but it is certain that within the past year greater changes have come into the minds of the Javanese than in the past twenty-five years. We stand before a new epoch. Will it be favourable for the spread of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ? It is a call

to persevering prayer that Java in its present awakening may not only desire education and true nationalism, but also that salvation which is only in Jesus Christ our Lord.''

In social life the position of womanhood has naturally attracted the attention of the new Islam. Advocates of monogamy, the abolition of the veil, and the evil of divorce have appeared in India, Turkey, Persia, and Egypt. Perhaps the most outstanding figure is that of Kasim Amin Bey, who died at Cairo in April, 1908. He was born in Egypt and there received his early education, but when a young man studied law in France. His celebrated book, ''The New Woman,'' has been translated recently into Russian from the second Arabic edition, and has had not only a large circulation, but has busied the pens of many scribes in attempts at reply.

''If the Egyptians wish to improve their position,'' he writes, ''they must begin at the beginning. They must become convinced that there is no hope of being a living nation, enjoying authority among the foremost nationalities, and receiving a place in the civilized world, until their homes and families are in a condition to form a fit centre for the training of men possessed of those qualities from which it is possible to expect success. There is no hope that their homes and families will be such centres

until women receive education and share with their husbands their thoughts, hopes, and sorrows, even if they cannot take part in their business."

Again he says: "Man is the absolute master and woman the slave. She is the object of his sensual pleasures, a toy, as it were, with which he plays, whenever and however he pleases. Knowledge is his, ignorance is hers. The firmament and the light are his, darkness and the dungeon are hers. His is to command, hers is to blindly obey. His is everything that is, and she is an insignificant part of that everything.

"Ask those that are married if they are loved by their wives, and they will answer in the affirmative. The truth, however, is the reverse. I have personally investigated the conditions of a number of families that are supposed to be living in harmony, peace, and love, and I have not found one husband who truly loved his wife, or one wife who evinced a sincere affection for her husband. This outward appearance of peace and harmony—this thin veneering—only means one of three things, namely, either the husband is made callous and nonchalant by incessant strife, and has finally decided to let things take their course; or the wife allows herself to be utilized as an ordinary chattel, without uttering a protest; or both parties are ignorant and do not appreciate the true value

of life. In this last case, the parties are nearer to a sort of happiness than in the former two, although their happiness is negative in quantity and evanescent in nature."

The women of Egypt themselves have appealed at the bar of justice against the terrible wrongs which they suffer under the old Islam. Somewhat after the style of Pierre Loti's "Desenchantés," the celebrated books by Mme. Rushdi Pasha on Life in the Harem, especially "Les Repudiées," corroborate the verdict of missionaries, which is often criticized by those who do not know the facts, as sensational or professional. Under the *nom de plume* of *Baheth el Badia,* Malik Hafni Nasif, the daughter of the Inspector in the Ministry of Education, wrote a series of articles in *Al Jarida,* fearlessly advocating the abolishing of all the primitive evils of Islam that burden the home, calling for higher standards of ethics, and showing the evils of polygamy and of early marriage. One may judge both the strength of this movement and its need of support from the fact that it is fortified by an appendix of testimonials from leading educated Egyptians to the sentiments expressed.

The greatest stir, however, among Moslems of the old school, was made by a book published in French at Paris, under the title, "La Condition de la Femme dans la Tradition et l'Evo-

lution de l'Islamisme," by Mansour Fahmy. He not only diagnoses the evil, but shows its origin. He was not satisfied to indict polygamy, but dared indict the early polygamists of Islam, including the Prophet himself. A Moslem of the new school, he received his doctorate from the University of Paris, is an ardent admirer of the late Kasim Amin, and is thoroughly acquainted with Moslem literature and thought.

In his preface he states that the object of his study is to give the reasons for the present degraded condition of women in Moslem lands, tracing the history of her position from the earliest Moslem period to the present day. He leaves no doubt that in many respects the condition of women in Arabia before Islam was superior to what it is now, and that her position under Islam gradually deteriorated until the recent revival of Moslem thought and the efforts for the elevation of womanhood. He follows the course of later Mohammedan literature, and quotes authorities who cannot be doubted to prove his position. "Moslem literature," he says, "in its historic development has degraded the position of women more and more, and consequently has degraded itself. It is a striking phenomenon in the story of the evolution of Arabic poetry." In support of his contention he quotes from Al Ghazali and Siouti, showing that their view of womanhood is so

degraded that it cannot be presented to polite readers.

The author deals fearlessly with Mohammed the Prophet, his marriages, his home life, and his opinion concerning women. Sometimes his sarcastic references to what the God of Mohammed allowed in the Prophet's harem leave one to wonder whether he is a good Moslem. The veil, in its present form and usage, he says, did not exist before the time of the Prophet. The very terms used today are not found in early Arabic literature. The successive steps in what the author calls the degradation of the condition of womanhood are traced through the history of the Caliphs and later dynasties. A chapter deals with the fact of concubinage and slavery in the status of womanhood, while another chapter gives an excellent summary of the position of women, the Moslem law, and the question of divorce and of dowry. He states that although in theory the position of the wife was ameliorated, yet practically it was debased under Islam. Her incapacity in Moslem law is emphasized by the fact that both as a witness and in the inheritance of property, her sex is counted against her.

On the other hand Syed Amir Ali of India in his essay, "Polygamy in Islam," attempts to justify Mohammed by saying that polygamy was a temporary institution. "The greatest

mistake of Christians is their saying that Mohammed was the first one to make polygamy lawful, for we can show that this is untrue. Mohammed found polygamy prevalent, and it remained so. In Persia this was the time of moral degradation, and there was no law regarding plural marriages, the man taking as many wives and concubines as he wished. The early Arabs and the Jews had a custom also of marrying on conditions, besides for a certain time, which would have brought disaster to Arabia had not God interposed and sent the Prophet of God to raise the position of women and elevate society generally."

The most radical attack, however, on the old orthodox view of the rights of women, appeared recently in *Al Jerida,* from the pen of a Moslem student in London, Tewfik Diab. He asks why women should be veiled at all! "Is it because the Mohammedan religion makes the veil a necessity? If so, why do you believe one part of your religion and disbelieve another? Why obey what is very obscurely laid down, and disregard doctrines that are definite and clear? Why not whip the drunkard and the man who neglects his prayers; why not cut off the arm of the thief, and stone the adulterer and the adulteress? (as is laid down in the Koran). Do you really veil your women in order to guard their honour? Are you really afraid that if

your womenfolk leave home unveiled, their passions will get the better of them and they will lose control over themselves? Do you think that a chastity that can only be maintained in a prison is worth much? Do you think that honour which can only be protected by a rag on the face is an honour preserved? Does a cage turn a lioness into an ewe? Or does the devil become an angel by wearing a veil?"

Another progressive Mohammedan, Mr. M. S. Mohidin, a magistrate of Madras, who wishes to break down the purdah, offered in 1911 a prize of 1,000 Rupees to any one who could prove from the Koran or the traditions of the Prophet that the seclusion of women is authorized; he also brought the matter before the Universal Races Congress of 1911 and spoke of the miseries of the purdah system—ignorance through want of education, and lung diseases through want of fresh air. He declared: "We boast of having given to women, according to the Koran, the highest place compared with other nations, but of what use is this privilege if their very existence is to be that of birds in gilded cages? We imprison half our number—to our own cost. We are single-handed in competition with others in the onward march of progress."

Even during the days of the war, the daily papers of Cairo are carrying on a brisk cam-

paign for women's rights. The *Wady-en-Nil* had a series of articles against polygamy as the foe of home life in Egypt, by an able writer, while *Al-Moayyad* translated some articles by western writers describing the degradation of womanhood in Egypt, and appealing for reform (July 1914; April 1915). Most remarkable of all was an article in *Al-Moayyad* (March 9, 1915) asking that in every mosque special places should be arranged for women worshippers, and that religious schools be opened for them in connection with the mosques. All the leaders in the new Islamic movement are agreed on that which some western writers still seem to doubt, namely, the degradation of womanhood and the great need for reform. S. Khuda Bukhsh in his "Essays Indian and Islamic" does not hesitate to write of Moslem society in India in the following terms:

"It would be the merest affectation to contend that religious and social systems, bequeathed to us thirteen hundred years ago, should now be adopted in their entirety without the slightest change or alteration. This is exactly the battlefield on which for the last fifty years a relentless war has been waged in India between the party of light and hope and the party which is wedded to the old order of things. Though the God of battles has not yet pronounced His verdict, the signs of the times are clear enough. It is certain that the party opposed to progress has

not a very long lease of life left to it. *It is doomed and dying, and it might as well reason with the winds or threaten the waves of the sea.*"

In addition to the question of women's rights, there are other questions that agitate the minds of the educated because they concern the progress of Moslem nations. One of them is that of interest and banking. It is well-known that according to the old Islam usury is a crime more grievous than adultery or murder, and the traditions are full of prophetic sayings on this subject; but where interest is forbidden and banking illegal, the wheels of commercial progress stand still. A Moslem will open an account at a bank, but will refuse to take interest on the deposits. This is the case even today in such centres as Bombay and Cairo. Voices have been raised in protest, and Moslems of the new school have abandoned both Koran and tradition by a new interpretation. An interesting article on the "Deterioration of Vitality Among Present Day Mohammedans," which appeared in the *Muslim Review* (Allahabad, 1910) says:

"Without venturing out in any controversial details as regards the legality or otherwise of interest, this much I must say in this connection, that the day will be very fortunate indeed—in fact, a red-letter day—when the savants can gather courage to remove

the great drag that is attached to the wheel of commercial enterprises among Muhammadans. Islam was a boon in preventing an unequitable usury, in recommending the practice of no interest on advances between people, for they were brothers to one another and the early Arabs were, comparatively speaking, in a state of poverty. But is the world the same as fourteen hundred years back? Is not a bank an incorporate body? Do not commercial enterprises depend upon banks? Do not others take interest from us in courts and outside them? Does the law of the land discountenance interest? I dare say these and similar suggestions lead us into greater and greater difficulties. Things have changed greatly in the meantime, and where the Koran, the prophet's commands and his actions are silent, may we not under urgent exigencies of the time come to a decision according to our best and conscientious judgment, keeping in mind the progressive spirit of Islam."

The new Islam is not only a revolt against tradition because of its ritualism and mediæval beliefs and practices; it is also a moral revolt against the ethical standards of Mohammed and his companions, as recorded in tradition. Educated Moslems find it very difficult to accept the Koran without explaining away its indictment of the Prophet. Attempts must be made at any cost of truth and logic to prove that he was not only a great leader but a worthy ideal and exemplary in his conduct. The first and by far the most successful attempt in this direction

was that by Syed Amir Ali in his celebrated book, "The Spirit of Islam or Life and Teachings of Mohammed," which has had a very large circulation. The object of the book and its character can be judged by what the author says in the preface:

"Unitarianism and Theism are neither more nor less than the Islam of Mohammed, shorn of the disciplinary rules framed for the guidance of the common folk. . . . The Islam of Mohammed, with its stern discipline and its severe morality, has proved itself the only practical religion for low natures to save them from drifting into a lawless materialism. It is probable, however, that should the creed of the Arabian Prophet receive acceptance among European communities, much of the rigid formalism which has been imparted to it by the lawyers of Central Asia and Irak will have to be abandoned. Perhaps the present exposition of the true *Spirit of Islam* may help in the diffusion of Islamic ideas in the West."

No less an authority than Professor Macdonald, however, states that the conclusions reached in this volume, as well as in the other writings of Amir Ali, "are only obtained by *suppressio veri.*" Those who have not read the sources and are unacquainted with the life of the Prophet as there recorded, may well be fascinated by the ideal portrait given us by this class of writers. One of them, Maulvie Moham-

med 'Ali, M.A., LL.B., speaks of Mohammed in these terms: "The spiritual resurrection brought about by the Holy Prophet is the most remarkable in the history of the world. It was not a reformation in the ordinary sense of the word; it was a thorough transformation of a whole nation, a transformation which raised a people from the depth of degradation to the height of civilization."

The *Habl-ul-Matin* published last year a series of articles on the Evidences of Islam. One may judge the character of this latest apologetic if we quote a paragraph or two regarding the Prophet and the Koran. The writer begins by saying that the evidences of Islam are of the same nature as those generally advanced in favour of Christianity; and that, inasmuch as Islam claims to be the fulfilment and completion of Christianity, all evidence which tends to establish the divine origin of the Scriptures is so much evidence for, and not against Islam. Regarding Mohammed he says:

"No bad man could possibly have conceived or would have promulgated so perfect and stringent a code of morals, or one so emphatically denouncing the wrath of God upon hypocrisy and sin, as the Koran is and does; and no good man would or could have put forward such a work if he was not assured of its divine authority. The Prophet could not possibly, therefore, have been an impostor, neither could he

have been a mere enthusiast or fanatic, or a self-deluded man, or one misled by others, for none of these could by any possibility have produced a work like the Koran, published in the manner in which it was, and possessing the characteristics it presents; neither could any of these have lived the consistent, blameless, open life that the Prophet did."

It is interesting to observe that whatever cargo is thrown overboard by the new Islam in their attempts to save the ship, no one is ever tempted to suggest a new captain. Whatever Moslems of the new school reject, they remain loyal to the prophetship of Mohammed. The second article of the Moslem creed is held with fanatic devotion even by those who have themselves progressed far beyond his attainments, socially and morally. The result, however, of all these attempts to whitewash the Prophet must inevitably fail when the spirit of true criticism has its way. One of the best missionary methods among this class is the publication and circulation of books such as *Ibn Hisham, El Wakkidi,* and *Et Tabari.* A British merchant in Alexandria who is a careful student of Islam and of present conditions, believes that the publication in English translation of these standard works, including Bokhari's traditions, would deal a death blow to Islam among the educated classes of India and Egypt.

Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje in his lec-

tures on Mohammedanism, given two years ago at Columbia and Princeton, expressed the opinion that the future development of Islam would repeat with an amazing degree of similarity the history of Judaism. Speaking of the Moslem students who attend the universities of Europe, who have forsaken nearly all the rites of their religion, who dress and eat as Christians do, he said: "But the tenor of their mind—*that is still Mohammedan.* I have had Mohammedan students in my own classes, and when I came to receive their theses I would find there the expressions of Mohammedan thought in a form totally different from anything that my other students would write. I could always recognize a Mohammedan from his thesis. And among the intellectuals there is the same attitude toward the old law and the old doctrine that is preserved by the intellectuals among the Jews today, and the longer I have lived among Mohammedan peoples the more have I become convinced that Islam will follow with an amazing degree of similarity the development which Judaism has followed in its later history."

Professor Hurgronje, however, fails to see what his words imply. Judaism gave its best to Christianity in converted leaders, from Saul of Tarsus all down the centuries to Edersheim, Delitzsch, and Adolph Saphir. Judaism has to-

day lost its power and its prestige. Christianity has supplanted it in all those lands where once it had a dominating influence. May we not look forward to the same result in the case of Islam?

Of the attitude of the new Islam toward Christ and Christianity we speak in our next lecture. But I wish to speak now of the attempts made to bridge the chasm between the Cross and the Crescent. I have here a curious illustration: a diagram prepared by a retired government engineer at Alexandria. It is indicative at least of a spirit of reconciliation, although in itself it is nothing more than an arithmetical curiosity and an illustration of the vagaries of the Moslem mind. In the centre of the sheet is a balance, in one scale of which is a cross and its Arabic name, *Salib;* and in the other, a crescent and the Arabic word *Islam* or Islamism; while above the fulcrum of the balance is the word Allah, or God, and below it the word *qalb* or heart.

By adding the value of the letters of the word Allah (every letter of the Arabic alphabet has a value, as those acquainted with Arabic know), this engineer finds that they make 132, which divided by two is sixty-six, which is equivalent to the value of the letters of the word *qalb* or heart. Again, by adding together the value of the letters of the word *Islam,* he finds that they make 132, which is exactly the same

Portion of a curious diagram representing a reconciling attempt to bridge the chasm between the Cross and the Crescent. (For explanation see pages 176, 177.)

as that of the word *salib* or cross. Moreover, the figures representing *Islam,* placed in the right scale of the balance, which are 132, make six if added from right to left, and those representing *salib,* if added from left to right, make the same figure; and both placed where they meet side by side make sixty-six, which is the equivalent of the word *Allah,* a fact which, according to the ingenious engineer, proves the concord that ought to exist among the elements of those who profess both religions. There are also mottoes and quotations from the Koran to show that there is to be no compulsion in religion, and that Islam teaches a universal brotherhood.

Finally, we must note that the new Islam is active in propagandism. In India and in Africa the leaders openly advocate work among the depressed classes or Animists. They have sent missionaries to South Africa and to Japan, to London and New York and South America. Because of the success of mass movements in India, they are there imitating Christians in their efforts to win the lower castes. "The time has come," said the *Muslim Review* (Allahabad, 1910) when Moslems should awake and teach, by pure living and their own example, the principles and practices of Islam. There are millions of the lower castes in the Punjab Eastern Bengal, Madras, the Deccan, and the

Hills, whose very touch pollutes a Hindu, but who naturally desire to be treated like human beings. But for the intervention of the British Government and some of the native States their condition would have been much more deplorable. To preach Islam among them, to allow them equal rights of humanity, and to educate them, will be welcomed by all lovers of humanity."

Yet our review of the New Islam and its future may well conclude by reminding ourselves of the scientific fact that hybrids *do not propagate* and by pointing out in the words of Tertullian that " men do not generally care to die for the compromises made between the faith of the Church and the philosophies of the heathen world."

V

THE PRESENT-DAY ATTITUDE TO CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY

"We must so preach Christ to the Moslem world that it shall recognize we have in Him what they, as Mohammedans, are seeking apart from Him. They are seeking forgiveness of sins, we have it in virtue of His death; they are seeking for mediators, in the risen and living Christ we have the true Mediator. They cry aloud for God's representatives, in the God-Man we have Him Who was of our flesh and blood and yet very God of very God. He stands in our stead. They toil over a dead obscure Book from God, we have His living Word, the Scriptures which bring Christ home to the hearts of men. They have much to say of the One Almighty and yet so distant God, we have His plentitude in the Three in One, Who has drawn near to us in Christ. They dream of dark powers from God, in us His Spirit is at work. They long for mystical union with God, in the Spirit of Jesus Christ we enjoy communion with God which recreates our life anew. They intoxicate their senses with the joys of a future Paradise, we know a world which is above where Christ is."—GOTTFRIED SIMON: "The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra."

V

PRESENT-DAY ATTITUDE TOWARD CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY[1]

The Son of his love; in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins: who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation; for in him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things have been created through him and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things consist. And he is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all things he might have the preeminence.—COLOSSIANS 1: 13-18.

AS in a total eclipse of the sun the glory and the beauty of the heavenly orb are hidden, and only the corona appears on the edge, so in the life and thought of Mohammedans their own Prophet has almost eclipsed Jesus Christ. Whatever place He may occupy in the Koran—and the portrait there given is a sad caricature; whatever favourable critics may say about Christ's honourable place among the Moslem prophets, it is nevertheless true that the large bulk of Mohammedans know extremely

[1] The *middle* portion of this lecture has already appeared in print as Chapter XIV in the author's recent volume "Mohammed or Christ." London, 1915.—S. Z.

little, and think still less, about Jesus Christ. He has no place in their hearts nor in their lives. All the prophets have not only been succeeded, but supplanted by Mohammed; he is at once the sealer and concealer of all former revelations. Mohammed is always in the foreground, and Jesus Christ, in spite of his lofty titles and the honour given him in the Koran, is in the background. There is not a single biography of Jesus Christ, alone and unique, as a great prophet of God, to be found in the literature of Islam. Christ is grouped with the other prophets; with Lot, Alexander the Great, Ishmael, Moses, Abraham, Adam.

I have shown in my book, "The Moslem Christ," the significance of Christ's names in the Koran, the account of His life, death, and translation, and also the fuller account, although caricatured, of His life and ministry, according to Moslem tradition. In all missionary effort for Mohammedans the one question that decides both the destiny of men and of nations ever remains, what think ye of the Christ?

In treating of the present-day attitude among Moslems toward Christ and Christianity, we have emphasized modern movements and the new Islam rather than the traditional and historic attitude of the old Islam. Yet we must not forget that by its very nature this world faith joins issue with everything that is vital

in the Christian religion, because it joins issue in its attitude toward the Christ. By this it must stand or fall. In this respect all schools of Moslem thought are practically the same. They differ in ritual and tradition; in interpretations, broad and narrow; in going back to the old Koran or in advocating the new Islam; but whether Shiahs or Sunnis, Wahabis or followers of Syed Amir Ali, their position as regards the Christ is practically the same.

"Islam," says Rev. G. Simon of Sumatra, "is not a preparation for Christianity; it is easier to build on a strange soil than first of all to tear down old buildings which are so firmly set together that they offer an unsurmountable obstacle to demolition."[1] The resolution passed by the Lucknow Conference, 1911, expressed this sentiment even more forcibly:

"This Conference is persuaded that, in order to stem the tide of Moslem advance, it is important to strengthen the work among animistic tribes, pagan communities, and depressed classes affected by this advance; for we are clearly of opinion that adoption of the faith of Islam by the pagan people is in no sense whatever a stepping-stone towards, or a preparation for, Christianity, but exactly the reverse."

Christianity gladly admits the strength of theism as a basis of unity between Islam and

[1] Edinburgh Conference Report, Vol. IV, p. 147.

Christianity. We assert as strongly as do all Moslems that there is only one God, *but because there is only one God there can be only one Gospel and one Christ. The words of Dr. James Denny are significant in this connection:*

"As there is only one God, so there can be only one Gospel. If God has really done something in Christ on which the salvation of the world depends, and if He has made it known, then it is a Christian duty to be intolerant of everything which ignores, denies, or explains it away. The man who perverts it is the worst enemy of God and man; and it is not bad temper or narrow-mindedness in St. Paul which explains this vehement language [Galatians 1:9]; it is the jealousy of God which has kindled in a soul redeemed by the death of Christ a corresponding jealousy for the Saviour."

" It pleased the Father" that in *Jesus Christ* "all fulness should dwell"; *not* in Mohammed. "In *Him* dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily"; *not* in Mohammed. "In *Him* are hid all treasures of wisdom and knowledge"; *not* in Mohammed. "He is the way, the Truth, and the Life"; *not* Mohammed. This is the issue which cannot be avoided.

A belief in the deity of Jesus Christ our Saviour may be a mere matter of creed, the acceptance of a form of statement without personal investigation, the acceptance of a theo-

logical dogma based on logical proofs without personal experience; or it may be a conviction of the heart, an experience of the soul, a passion in one's life. In no part of the world's battlefield for righteousness and truth does belief in the deity of Jesus Christ so naturally and almost spontaneously turn this mere theological dogma into a spiritual experience, a logical necessity, and a great passion, as when face to face with Mohammedan denials of the claims of our Saviour, and their practical deification of Mohammed.

The utter helplessness and hopelessness of missionary work among Moslems on the part of any one who wavers or is uncertain regarding this belief in the deity of Christ is self-evident. The Moslem doctrine of God and their denial of Jesus Christ, His incarnation, His atonement, His deity, are the very issues of the conflict. The Koran denies all that which is the supreme glory of the Saviour and which makes Him a Saviour at all. Although both in the Koran and in tradition Jesus Christ has a high place among the prophets, and Moslems are willing to admit His sinlessness and power to work miracles, all this does not distinguish His person in any way, as to His nature, from other prophets who came before Him. Christ to them occupies no supreme place in heaven, nor does He in history. He has been at once succeeded

and superseded by Mohammed in this respect. It is this anti-Christian character of the greatest of all the non-Christian religions which compels every worker among Moslems to look upon the doctrine of the Trinity or of the deity of Jesus Christ not as mere orthodox belief, but as the very life and heart of Christianity, without which we have no message, no motive power, and no hope of success.

The old Islam refuses compromise with Christianity and fully understands that the gulf in theological teaching cannot be bridged. Their attitude toward Christ is traditional, but toward Christianity, especially among those who hope that Islam will yet be victorious everywhere, is that of defiance and opposition. Although the political situation holds in check Moslem fanaticism and prevents freedom of speech through the censorship of the press, we must not be deceived by this outward calm. When circumstances are favourable and hearts are inflamed with passion, the Moslems of the old school, both Shiahs and Sunnis, have shown by their *jihads* and the massacre of Christians —their neighbours and outwardly their friends —what their real feeling is. The story of the Armenian massacres is still in our minds, and what took place at Urumia and Salmas and Van might have happened in Cairo or Calcutta at the outbreak of the European war had it not

been for the strong hand of the British Government.

Not only is the symbol of the Cross a stumbling block to the Moslem of the old school, but the doctrine of the Cross is to him foolishness. The leading Moslem paper of Cairo characterized the belief in the Crucifixion as the foundation of the Christian religion, and then summarized the objections to it as follows:

1. It is opposed to reason.

2. It is opposed to theism. How can God, who is omnipresent and everlasting, degrade Himself by dwelling in a virgin's womb?

3. It is opposed to God's knowledge; for the plan of salvation—if such it is—was an afterthought.

4. It is opposed to both the mercy and justice of God; to His mercy because he allowed Christ to suffer, being innocent, without delivering Him; and to His justice in allowing those who crucified Him to do it unpunished.

5. It leads to impiety, because if this is the way of salvation, then no matter how wicked a man is he finds deliverance through the Cross, and will never be punished for his sins.

6. It is unnecessary. We have never heard it stated by any reasonable person, or those who are learned in law, that the attribute of justice is abrogated by the pardon of a criminal; on

the contrary, it is considered a virtue to pardon an offender. Why should not God do so?

The old Islam, true to Koran teaching and the place always given to Jesus among the greater prophets, confesses Christ with their lips, but their heart is far from accepting His message. They do not attack the character of Jesus as do some of the Moslems of the new school. On the other hand, they exceed them in their violent opposition to Christian missions. The Egyptian press is typical in that respect. *Esh-Sh'ab,* once one of the leading papers, on March 1, 1914, had an editorial on the deceitful dealings of missionaries who, by mission boats on the Nile, hospitals, and schools, laid traps for the unwary. The same paper, publishing a missionary report of a girl's conversion, said, "Where are your wits, O ye who profess the religion of Islam? Why do you not oppose these bitterest enemies of your faith instead of leaving your daughters to be won over by their teaching." The public is warned against attending Christian meetings, and the preacher and his message are made the subject of scurrilous poems, as was the case in *Misr-al-Fitat,* 1913.

Al-'Alm the day after Christmas, 1910, spoke of the observance of Christmas Day as a holiday in the Government schools of Egypt as a dangerous heresy. "It is quite enough for us

that we should see you rejoicing while we Moslems are roasting on the fire of unrest. It is quite enough that we see you opposing our political independence and raising your flags of joy in our country. Why should we longer show patience?"

Esh-Sha'ab spoke of the attendance at Christian meetings as follows: "The attendance at these meetings is one of the greatest evils a Moslem can commit. God will punish it more severely in the last day than adultery or drunkenness. Yea, it is the most terrible of crimes whether from the point of wisdom and prudence or from that of politics. Do you doubt the truth of your religion, O Moslems, that you seek advice from your enemies?"

The Egyptian press, like that of Turkey, often advocates the boycotting of all Christian institutions, including mission hospitals. In *Esh-Sha'ab,* June 23, 1914, a full page article appeared attacking Beirut College and characterizing its Bible teaching as subversive of Islam. "O fathers who have hearkened to the voice of the ignorant, why have you plunged your precious children into this fire of hell where devils are their guardians?"

Perhaps the greatest stir in the Moslem press was made by a conference of the Protestant Church in Egypt held a few years ago (1911), which had for its motto "Egypt for Christ."

This challenge greatly aroused the ire of the old school. "Egypt," they said, "has been Moslem for thirteen centuries. We must not allow Protestants even to speak of Egypt belonging to Christ. How can they dream of Islam disappearing?"

We may sum up the situation as regards the vast majority of Mohammedans of the uneducated classes or those whose education still follows the old lines of thought, by saying that their attitude toward Christ and Christianity, although modified to some extent by contact with Christians, and especially through the influence of Christian hospitals and schools, still remains what it was throughout the past centuries. Afghanistan is a closed land for no other reason than because it is Moslem, and the chief danger to travel across the Arabian peninsula in any direction is the fact of being a Christian. Some years ago Sheikh Abd-ul-Haqq, of Bagdad, a Moslem of the old school, wrote an article on behalf of the Pan-Islamic league. It appeared in a French journal and was entitled "The Final Word of Islam to Europe."

"For us in the world there are only believers and unbelievers; love, charity, fraternity toward believers; contempt, disgust, hatred, and war against unbelievers. Amongst unbelievers the most hateful and criminal are those who, while recognizing God, attribute to Him earthly relationships, give Him a son,

a mother. Learn then, European observers, that a Christian of no matter what position, from the simple fact that he is a Christian, is in our eyes a blind man fallen from all human dignity."

But what of the Europeanized Moslem of the new school?

Perhaps it is a fair estimate to say that from two to four millions of the total population of the Moslem world have so far adopted western education and broken away from the old Islamic standards of orthodox tradition that they should be classified as Moslems of the new school. These are found especially in India, Egypt, Turkey, Algiers, and Persia. Not all of them have adopted western civilization, but western educational methods and ideals have compelled them to restate their own beliefs or doubts, and to modify their social and moral standards to such an extent that they have clearly separated themselves from the masses.

Although Moslem education still divides itself along western and eastern lines, the methods and ideals of the West are pushing their way everywhere. Colonial expansion and commercial exploitation, by the marking out of spheres of influence in Africa, as well as in the Mohammedan lands of Asia, the building of railways, the growing influence of the Moslem press, the competition as well as the example of

mission schools—all these tend to accelerate this movement for higher education.

A new type of leaders has appeared in all Moslem lands from Morocco to Java. They are the scouts in advance, whom the bulk of the community will follow with more or less hesitation in the future. They are formulating public opinion, advocating reforms, and preaching the power and possibility of a revived Islam. It is our purpose to show what is the present attitude of these Moslem leaders toward our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Scriptures. This will necessarily involve also their attitude toward Christianity and the work for Moslems.

First of all, we must note that the educated Moslem of today has supreme confidence in himself, and therefore pride in his religion and hope, in spite of all political disasters or racial and social disadvantages, that Islam will yet triumph.

Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, in his remarkable "Essays Indian and Islamic," recently published, says: "Islam possesses an inherent force and vitality which nothing can weaken or destroy. It carries within it germs of progress and development, and has great powers of adaptability to changing circumstances. There is nothing in its teaching which conflicts with or militates against modern civilization, and the moment Moslems realize the truth, their

future will be assured and their greatness only a question of time. Modern Islam, with its hierarchy of priesthood, gross fanaticism, appalling ignorance, and superstitious practices, is, indeed, a discredit to the Islam of the Prophet Mohammed. Instead of unity, we have Islam torn into factions; instead of culture we have indifference to learning; instead of liberal minded toleration we have gross bigotry. But this intellectual darkness must necessarily be followed by intellectual dawn, and we trust that it is not now far distant or too long in coming."[1] No missionary has ever written more frankly concerning the ignorance, superstition, degradation, and social evils of the Moslem world than has Mr. Khuda Bukhsh in these essays.

"Look at the state of affairs a little deeper," he writes. "What must we say of a society which transforms licentiousness into elegant frailty, and treachery and falsehood into pardonable finesse? Should we not combat, with all our might, these social evils which are sapping the very life and vitality out of our community? Are these not problems calling for attention and solution? I am drawing up (I am only too keenly aware of it) a severe indictment against my own community, but we need have no delicacy any longer if we are to proceed

[1] Pp. 23, 24.

onward. We want no palliatives, but the surgeon's knife to cut the cancer—the social cancer—away."[1]

And all these evils which he mentions, he tells us are the direct, or indirect outcome of "our defective family life, where liberty is indistinguishable from licence, and healthy vigilance from meaningless conventionalism." Moslem children, he tells us, are brought up in "a poisonous atmosphere." "Polygamy is destructive alike of domestic peace and social purity." In India the state of Islam is so sad that the Hindu excels the Mohammedan "in thrift and self-control, in capacity for work, in family devotion, in temperance and in sacrifice for education."

His conclusion is that among Moslems "Religion has now become a solemn farce stripped of spiritual truth and steeped in barren tradition and practice," and that "the very foundations of our belief and conduct need to be reconstructed."

We have quoted at length from this writer because he is not alone. The Moslem press in Calcutta, Teheran, Cairo, Bagdad, Constantinople, and Algiers has given similar testimony. Kasim Amin Bey in his plea for the emancipation of the womanhood of Egypt was followed by Mansour Fahmy in his recent book on the

[1] Pp. 215, 216, 228, 235, etc.

condition of women in Islam.[1] Both of them are leaders in social reform. Gasprinsky is attempting from Russia to reform Moslem education in India and in Persia.

The backward state of the Moslem world and its present degradation is to the educated Moslem a cause of sorrow and a source of constant pain. Abdul Karim Moondji, of the Supreme Court, Singapore, wrote to the *Spectator* (May 2, 1914) as follows:

". . . If Moslems choose to confine themselves only to lip profession of their religion, with resulting disintegration, decadence, and stagnancy, the fault as well as the blame is theirs, and should by no means be cast upon their faith. If Islam as *practised* by Moslems does indeed seem hidebound, deficient in progress, this characteristic is one that has been assumed and adopted, not inherent in, nor native to it. Except in India, Islam has not yet come into touch with Protestantism, with its attendant freedom from dogmatic trammels. Its antagonists and neighbours have been either the Roman Catholic form of worship or the Greek one, and the evils in Islam are but the evils in these two other faiths which it has assimilated and absorbed. . . . To assert that the religion of the Koran is inelastic, adverse to progress, would be to deny, to shut one's eyes voluntarily to the state of Islam during its first infancy and adolescence. To what was due the past greatness of Islam but to the

[1] "La condition de la Femme dans la tradition et l'évolution de l'Islamique." Paris, 1914.

progressive, reformative, and assimilative spirit that distinguished that religion? You, sir, and such as you, should least of all other men be prone to lend your pen to the stock objections to Islam that form the windy paraphernalia of narrow-minded Christian clergymen, fortified by their fanatic folly."

We may well sympathize with the educated Moslem of today. The impact of the West through trade, governments, and education, has utterly changed all social standards, practices, and ideals. The old Islam is disintegrating: No one can arrest the process.

The new Islam is anxious to incorporate all the progress and ideals of western civilization by a reinterpretation of the Koran. Some even attempt to prove that Islam was not propagated by the sword, that slavery was only a temporary institution, and that polygamy was not permitted by the Prophet Mohammed,—in fact, that he himself was not really a polygamist. These feats of exegesis would be ridiculous if they were not pathetic. All educated Moslems are abandoning the traditions and taking refuge in the Koran for a final stand against Christianity, if it be possible. The character of the Prophet is becoming a stumbling block to all earnest thinkers, and there are hundreds of thousands of Mohammedans whose social and moral ideals are higher than those of Moham-

med himself. Could there be a stronger call than this for us to present to them the reality of the living Christ, who is at once the ideal of character and its creator; its author and its finisher?

Popular education, both under government supervision and through the effort and example of Christian missions, as well as the enormous influence of the Moslem press, is spreading these new ideas everywhere. A missionary in Java writes:

"What the future of the movement toward popular government will be, no one can say, but it is certain that within the past year greater changes have come into the minds of the Javanese than in the past twenty-five years. We stand before a new epoch. Will it be favourable for the spread of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ? It is a call to persevering prayer that Java in its present awakening may not only desire education and true nationalism, but also that salvation which is only in Jesus Christ our Lord."

There is no doubt that in social reform, policy, education and all the ideals of democracy, educated Moslems are our allies and not our enemies. They are as anxious as are the missionaries for the uplifting and enlightenment of the masses. Although their efforts are spasmodic, they are not unconscious of the need for this uplifting and enlightenment. Most of

them are ardent admirers of much that they consider the best in western civilization. But, alas! too few of their number are ready for a life of self-denying service to help others reach the goal that they admire.

The nationalist journal *Ash-Sha'ab* recently had a series of articles by the President of the Mohammedan Association for the Revival of Islam in Egypt. His contention was that the Koran contained all the principles of modern civilization and progress; that modern science has borrowed much from the Koran, and that in this book we have foretold modern discoveries in embryology, natural history, and sociology!

But the fundamental question always remains. It is the crux of the Moslem problem. Not what they think of western civilization or of its representatives, but what they think of Jesus Christ, and how they regard the Bible and Christianity. In presenting the subject we quote at length from the Moslem press and from recent books by educated Moslems, mindful of the words spoken to Gideon: "Thou shalt hear what they say, and afterward shall thine hands be strengthened to go down into the host."

Educated Moslems are fully aware of the impending conflict between Christianity and Islam and of the issues at stake. In speaking of the results of missionary preaching, under the heading of "Islam and Its Enemies," the

Cairo newspaper *Ash-Sha'ab* wrote: "A proof of the extent of preaching in mission schools is the fact that you cannot find two Moslem children one of whom is taught in a Moslem school and the other in a Christian school, but you see them quarrelling in the street on such a question as this: Who is the greatest, the Messiah or Mohammed? and very probably both of them are the sons of one pious Moslem. The other day while I was reclining in my house I heard a quarrel in the street between a boy and a girl. A negro servant was helping the boy in his argument. The boy was crying, 'Christ is not greater than Mohammed'; but the girl replied, 'Teacher told us that Christ was greater than Mohammed and than all other creatures, for He saved men from their sins.' When they came to me I made clear to the girl that her brother was in the right and she in the wrong." . . .

There are some who hope for compromise and reconciliation. Presiding at a lecture on The Gospel of Islam, delivered in London by Zari Sarfaraz Hussein of Delhi, the Hon. Syed Amir Ali said that for more than forty years he had been trying to bring about an understanding between Christianity and Islam, and he believed that to some extent he had removed the false impressions in the West regarding the latter religion. He saw no reason why Chris-

tianity and Islam should not work together in the elevation of the human world; they worshipped the same God, had the same traditions and ideals, and did not differ in their moral standards.[1]

The majority of educated Moslems, however, know their own religion better, and know at least the fundamental teachings of Christianity; they, therefore, have little sympathy with efforts at compromise. The *Review of Religions* put the issue clearly in stating that "Islam and Christianity lie at the parting of the ways, Islam being the very antithesis of Christianity;" and deprecates the fact that "here and there attempts are being made in India to show that the Holy Koran supports the alleged claims of Jesus of Nazareth to Godhood." "Chapters and verses are quoted from Moslem books by some of the misguided and ignorant Christian missionaries to show that Islam represents Jesus as the highest embodiment of human excellence. Some of them even go to the length of declaring that the Holy Koran lends itself to the deifying of Jesus. The Christian missionaries have been misled by the Mohammedan reverence for Jesus into the notion that Islam represents Jesus as a being superior to the rest of mankind. It is true that they have been regarding him as one of the

[1] As reported in the daily press and *The Near East.*

prophets of God who come at times to regenerate the world, and who in that capacity deserve our utmost reverence. But to expect from the Moslems anything more than this would be to ignore their feelings and sentiments altogether." "Of course," in an editorial, *The Comrade* of Calcutta said, "there is no neutrality between the two, at least not between the Unity of Islam and the Trinity of the Nicene Creed. No Mussulman could indeed wish for neutrality. One or other must conquer, and the Mussulman is sure in his mind which it is going to be." The more Moslems become acquainted with Christianity, the more they read the New Testament, the more they will see that the issues between the Cross and the Crescent are clearly drawn, and are too deep and vital both in the realm of truth and of ethics ever to admit of compromise.

We may, therefore, expect that the enormous increase in the circulation of the Scriptures in all Moslem lands in recent years will inevitably lead to keener opposition and produce hostility, as well as remove prejudice. Jesus Christ is always set "for the falling and rising of many" and for "a sign which is spoken against."

But there is a willingness, rather an eagerness, to investigate the claims of Jesus Christ and His place in history such as there never was before. The Moslems themselves are

choosing the Bible as their battleground. For obvious reasons all educated Moslems have abandoned their defence of the Traditions, or are trying hard to sift them or shift them to suit their purpose. They even prefer at present to attack the Scriptures or re-interpret them in favour of Islam rather than make any appeal to the Koran as the very word of Allah. This is a new phase in the present situation and one full of promise. The Word of God is living and powerful; it is a two-edged sword, and those who attempt to wrest it from Christian hands will only wound themselves.

Two Moslem tracts widely circulated in Cairo this past year are entitled *If Ye Love Me Keep My Commandments,* and *A True Statement of the Love of Christ.* Both are bitterly anti-Christian and contain blasphemous statements, but while they have no reference to the Koran or quotations from it, they are full of Bible proof-texts. The latter closes with the entire beautiful parable of the house built on the rock (Matthew 7:24-27), while on the title page are the words: "Jesus the Nazarene, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people." Whatever may be the other effects of this kind of polemic, it undoubtedly stimulates the searching of the Scriptures and rivets attention on Jesus Christ.

Two years ago the leading Moslem paper pub-

lished at Bagdad had a long article on the injustice of Italy's invasion of Tripoli, and the main argument was based on all the prophecies of Messianic peace found in the Old Testament and the command of Jesus to love our enemies. Only a short time ago a tramway conductor in Alexandria, to whom I gave a Christian leaflet, returned the favour by handing me a small poster entitled *The Gospel Witness to the Prophetship of Mohammed,*—most of it a clever perversion of Scripture texts, especially from the sixteenth chapter of John's Gospel, referring to the promise of the Paraclete.

While on the one hand there is this free and utterly uncritical use of the Bible, educated Moslems, on the other hand, are eager to prove by modern western authorities that their old contention that the text was corrupted is supported by Christians themselves. Mr. Halil Halid, a licentiate of the Institute of Law at Constantinople, says in his book "The Crescent *versus* the Cross" (pp. 12, 13): "A study of the historical investigations made by the unbiased critics of Christendom will strengthen rather than weaken the old notion of Mussulmen as to the origin of the existing Holy Book of the Christians. . . . It certainly should not be offered to the world as the gospel of a true religion."

The infamous Arabic book of Mohammed

Tahir-ut-Tanir of Beirut on "The Pagan Elements in the Christian Religion,"[1] and the far more able work by Mohammed Tewfik Sidki of Cairo entitled "En Nazra" are both intended to show that the foundations of the Christian religion are not only unhistorical but mythical. They refer to and quote from a number of western writers, some of whom are without authority and others are agnostic or atheistic.

The whole object in view in these replies or counter-attacks always seems to be, not to search for truth nor to use the method of scientific or even of destructive criticism, but to find an apology for Islam at any cost. Otherwise, how, for example, could a Cambridge graduate write: "Islam also holds different views on the death of Christ; whether historically correct or not, it does not admit the possibility of the Crucifixion . . . it cannot reconcile His lofty position with the alleged form of His death, a form which to the Moslem mind only befits criminals."[2]

We might say that this changed attitude toward the Scriptures is from that of a proud indifference and a fanatic ignorance of their contents to an eager desire to investigate and refute the Bible if in any way possible, or at

[1] Of the articles by the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, D.D., in *The Moslem World* (October, 1913, and July, 1914.)

[2] "The Crescent *versus* the Cross," p. 17.

least to use it as a new weapon of defence for Islam and of attack on Christianity. This apparently impossible position is the only logical one if the Moslem would remain a Moslem. The educated Moslem faces two grave difficulties in his comparative study of religion: the character of Mohammed according to Moslem writers, and the witness of the Koran to the integrity and inspiration of the Bible. He is compelled by his religion, therefore, to believe that, which if logically followed out to its conclusion, will undermine the foundation of his belief.

The Comrade of Calcutta (May 30, 1914) frankly admitted this difficulty: "The Christian theologian can denounce the Koran as a fabrication and a fraud, but the Mussulman, although he may allege interpolations in the Biblical text, is prevented by his own religious belief from denying the divine origin of the Christian Scriptures. Similarly, a Christian may call the Prophet of Islam an impostor and an evil person; but a Mussulman's religion imposes upon him respect for the personality and character of Jesus Christ as a messenger of God."

We shall see later how this difficulty regarding the character of the Prophet and that of the Christ has given rise to new and startling attacks on the sinlessness of Jesus.

This witness of the Koran to the Scriptures,

the colporteur with his insistent presentation of the printed Gospel, the daily Bible teaching in thousands of mission schools, and not least, the place this Book occupies in western literature and thought, all join to compel the educated Moslem to become a Bible student.

He is also driven to study the present religious condition of the Christian world and to compare it favourably or unfavourably with that of the world of Islam, often appealing to the Bible as the standard of his new ethics to condemn the worst side of western civilization. His horizon is world-wide. With the sensitiveness and the rapidity (sometimes without the accuracy) of a seismograph, the Moslem press in Constantinople and Cairo, in Algiers and Calcutta, records every event even at the antipodes that concerns Islam, however remotely.

The World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh was reported at length in the leading Moslem daily paper in Cairo. Translations of missionary literature published in New York appear in the Lahore daily papers. Nothing that happens in Europe and which seems to reflect on Christian civilization escapes the Moslem press. The feminist movement, the suffragette extravagance, a diplomatic disclosure, a speech of the German Emperor, American divorce scandals, the social evils of Paris or of Liverpool,—all are served up to Moslem readers

with the moral: such is Christianity and such is the programme of Christian Europe.

The information given is often inaccurate or even grotesque in its character. The paper called *Al Afkar,* for example, had a long article (Cairo, March 22, 1914) by a Persian Moslem on the subject "The Impact of the Missionaries upon the Moslem World," in which he gave an exaggerated account of the strength of Protestant Missions, quoting from a French periodical that the Protestants spend unheard of sums of gold in the spread of the Gospel; from Canada and America a total of two and a half million pounds yearly, exclusive of what comes from England and Australia. He estimates the total spent by Protestant missions at thirteen million pounds and the total number of missionaries, European and native, at five and a half million! Of these "ninety-three thousand men and women are specially set apart to engage in the distribution of the Bible."

The conference at Kikuyu held almost as large a place in the Moslem press as it did in England. Long articles indicated how educated Moslems saw good or ill for Islam in this attempted Christian Union. One paper remarked: "The pious fraud engineered in the Protestant conference at Kikuyu is too glaring to hoodwink even a superficial eye. The Protestant sects are notoriously divided from each

other by differences of belief of the most fundamental character. Do all Protestants even believe in the Trinity? Many of them are Unitarians—almost like non-Christian religions. Do they believe in one common baptism? Some hold that baptism is only harmless water: some that it removes all sins: some that it should be given to children: some that it must be reserved for people of full age. Do all of them believe in the Communion of saints? Many of them believe it in all sorts of different meanings. Some hold that Christians on earth can pray to Christians who are dead on behalf of other Christians expired. Others deny this and believe that no one here or hereafter can know or do anything whatsoever with one another. Do they believe in the 'one Catholic Church' which they pretended at Kikuyu to be a universal article of their 'unity of faith?' On the other hand, very few of them believe in one Catholic Church of any kind whatsoever. Do they believe in the remission of sins? Most of them do not: and those who say they do have most different ideas on the subject. Must a Protestant priest or bishop be consecrated in regular succession by previous bishops? Can any layman without any consecration by bishops become a priest or minister and teach out of the sacred Scriptures? On these points, too, there is nothing but contradic-

tion among the Protestant denominations represented at Kikuyu." All of which shows that Christianity is not only under fire, but that Moslems *are fully aware that our lack of unity is a real lack of strength.*

The criticism of missions by the Moslem press does not prevent an increasing imitation of modern missionary methods in the defence and spread of Islam. Moslem societies are being formed throughout India and Egypt with the avowed purpose of checking the influence of missions, preventing attendance at Christian meetings and persuading converts to return to Islam. I have before me the constitution and by-laws of one such society founded last year, with headquarters in Alexandria. It has officers, committees, branches, two kinds of membership (honorary and active, by the payment of at least a shilling monthly) and an ambitious programme. The recent efforts of Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din and his supporters in Woking, England, "to spread Islam in Europe, or at least refute the baseless charges brought against Islam," are generally known through his publications. What is not so well known is that women's missionary societies are being formed in India to finance the scheme.[1]

We turn now to the heart of the problem. What is the present attitude of educated Mos-

[1] *The Comrade,* May 9, 1914, p. 377.

lems toward Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour? It is twofold. On the one hand, although this attitude is utterly opposed to the spirit and teaching of the Koran itself, there are bitter and blasphemous attacks on the supernatural character of Jesus and His sinlessness. On the other hand, there is unexpected and outspoken testimony to His moral greatness and the effect of His teaching and life in transforming character.

Syed Mohammed Rashid Risha, the editor of *Al-Manar,* Mohammed Tewfik Sidki, both of Cairo, Mohammed Tahir-ut-Tanir of Beirut, a certain section of the press in India, and the authors of some of the pamphlets published by the Mohammedan Tract and Book Depot at Lahore are the leading exponents of the new hostile polemic. Much of what has appeared in print, both in English and Arabic, in India and in Egypt, is of such a degrading character and so utterly unworthy of educated or honest Moslems that we are not surprised that when it was published in Cairo the editor of *Al-Manar* was constrained to publish an apology after the offence; and in India, it was described by the Secretary of State as "wantonly scurrilous and offensive." Two of the Indian newspapers in question, *Ahl-i-Hadith* and *Badr,* were dealt with under the Press Act in June, 1914, for publishing their blasphemous articles on the birth of

the Messiah. The latter paper quoted from another Moslem sheet *An-Najm,* a long pseudo-scientific account of the alleged naturalness of the virgin birth on the absurd theory (which was fortified by a Koran text) that Mary was "a true hermaphrodite." *The Comrade* reprinted the greater part of this offensive article (June 6, 1914) and expressed surprise at the opinion of Sir Michael O'Dwyer that "it was wantonly scurrilous and calculated to bring into contempt the Christian population of the Province." Referring to the other paper, *Ahl-i-Hadith, The Comrade* goes on to prove that Moslem writers can say what they please regarding the character of Jesus provided they use as the object of their accusations and blasphemies "the Jesus of the Gospel" and not "the 'Isa of the Koran." Here is the argument presented:

"Let us now see whether the writer in the *Ahl-i-Hadith* has done anything more reprehensible in dealing with Christ's sinfulness or sinlessness according to the law. Once more we must bear in mind that the writer is not dealing with Jesus as the Mussulmen know and venerate, but with 'the Jesus of the Gospel.' What he does is to quote texts from the Gospels and, whether one agrees with his interpretation or not, it cannot be denied that the texts *can* be interpreted in a manner which do not do justice to so great and holy a personality. The well-known text in Mat-

thew, 'I come not to send peace but a sword,' etc., can easily bear an interpretation wholly different from that which Christians accept, and we have no doubt that if an Indian patriot used such expressions today the police would have something to say to him; and the authorities of our colleges would certainly hold up the man who boasted that he had come 'to set a man against his father' to public opprobrium, in the interests of discipline. Take Christ's abuse of the Pharisees and Scribes as 'an evil and adulterous generation' and a 'generation of vipers.' We know what the Pharisees and Scribes were like in the days of Christ, but have we no Pharisees and Scribes among us who can count on the support of officialdom when 'young hot-heads' call them by names not half as abusive? Again, Christ accused the Prophets who preceded him of being 'thieves and robbers.' ''

The writer quotes other passages and offers a running criticism of unequal merit, and finally cites Matthew 19:17: ''And he said, 'Why callest thou me good? There is none good but One —that is God.' So much for 'Jesus of the Gospel.' But what of Jesus as the writer believes him to be? Does he consider him to be a disturber of peace and a man given to abuse of others, an ungrateful son or a brother without affection, the author of vain prophecies and a teacher of dissembling, fond of loving women who were not related to him, and of wine drinking as, according to him, the texts cited by him

suggest?'' Let us give the reply in his own words. He concludes the peccant article with the following: '' In short, according to the decision of the Old and New Testaments, Jesus was sinful by origin and according to law. If He was sinful He cannot atone for the sins of others, according to the Christian teachings. So Jesus can in no way carry away the sins of all Christians. Christian friends, give up this unbecoming and fanciful idea of Atonement and believe in the Holy Book which in a few but portentous words calls Jesus ' Son of Mary, illustrious in this world and the world to come! ' '' . . .

Another writer of this polemic school informs us that Jesus died young and was crucified because he was rude to the ''mother who kept awake for nights that He might sleep, who many a time went without meals that He might eat, and bore trouble that He might rest in comfort. Does not the Bible say, 'Honour thy father and mother that thy days may be long,' and does not Matthew tell us that Jesus said unto her, 'Woman, what have I to do with you?' ''

Regarding the present attitude of Moslems in Bengal the Rev. William Goldsack writes that a booklet published there, ''is a blasphemous attack on the character and person of our Blessed Lord, and reveals in the author, a callous disregard for the very decencies of re-

ligious controversy. The usual objections to the doctrine of Christ's sinlessness are raised, such as His 'inherited sinfulness from Adam,' His 'abuse' of the Scribes and Pharisees, His 'disrespect' shown to His mother, His 'habitual use of wine,' His 'wanton destruction of the property (*i.e.*, the swine) of some poor people,' His petulant 'want of self-control' as shown in the destruction of the fig-tree, etc. The author closes his venomous attack with the remark that he has hoisted the Christian Padris with their own petard, and proved from their own fictitious scriptures that as one sinner cannot save another sinner, so Jesus 'who is sometimes man, and sometimes God,' cannot be a Saviour. He then goes on to say that good Mohammedans believe in the sinlessness of all the Prophets, Jesus included. The latter, however, was not the chimerical and imaginary being described in the book which Christians have written and called the Bible."

"Another Muslim anti-Christian publication at present being circulated in Bengal is a scurrilous pamphlet entitled 'The Destroyer of the Trinity.' This book is even more offensive in tone than the one just described. Its blasphemous ridiculing of the Holy Trinity, and its coarse jests about the limitless God being contained in the womb of the Virgin Mary, make painful reading for the Christian. Books such

MOSQUE OF THE PROPHET'S TOMB, INTERIOR, EL MEDINA.

This is not the tomb itself, but the principal mosque. Medina is called The Illuminated. The mosque is lighted by candles and one can see one of the eunuch servants engaged in cleaning the candelabra.

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FOR THE HEATHEN

as we have been describing have a baneful influence upon half-educated people, and are even being used to try and unsettle Christian converts."

With still greater effrontery one of the pamphlets published at Lahore speaks of the marriage at Cana in Galilee and of other events in Christ's life: "Jesus also insulted his mother on this occasion, and the apology that he was then under the influence of wine cannot excuse him; for on another occasion (Matthew 12:48) when, to all appearances, in a sober state, he behaved even more rudely toward her. Another miracle wrought by Jesus was that of cursing the fig-tree. Pinched by hunger (a hungry God was never known before the advent of Jesus) he ran to a fig-tree, but poor, hunger-bitten God! he did not know that 'the time of figs was not yet.' Naturally enough he found not figs, but instead of cursing himself, he cursed the faultless fig-tree. (Mark 11: 11-14)."

Again, referring to the Gospel story of His death: "The Jews alone showed the firmness of purpose, and, unlike the second person of the Trinity, did not swerve a hair's breadth from the path which they had chosen, keeping to their ground until they saw Jesus suspended on the cross, that the eternal decree might be fulfilled. What a pity that God could not show

the same perseverance. Having first audaciously put himself forward to undergo the punishment that was destined for the whole human race, he shrank when he saw actual danger and at last, his heart failing him, cried out *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?* and prayed the Father to save him from death on the cross." [1]

But the author of *El 'Akaid-ul-Wathaniya fi diyanati-l-Messihiya* goes to even greater length in his hatred of the Gospel story of the Crucifixion. So also did *Al-Manar* [2] in its recent articles on the genealogy of Jesus, His human origin, His relations with John, His visits to Bethany, and His drunkenness at the Last Supper. All these accusations are based by educated Moslems on the record of the four Gospels!

The Islamic Review summed it up in these words: "He loved women who were not related to Him in any way. John 11:5, 20, 28, 29: 'Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister and Lazarus.' He used to drink wine. Matthew 26:29: 'But I say unto you I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.' And He made others drink. John 11:6-10."

One is constantly reminded, when compelled to read these blasphemous articles by those who

[1] Cf. my article entitled "The Stumbling Block of the Cross," in *The Moslem World*, April, 1913, pp. 147-158.
[2] Vol. XVII, No. 3, pp. 188 sq., and No. 2, passim.

still call themselves Moslems, of the words of Luke in the Gospel: "And when they had *blindfolded* Him, they struck Him on the face and asked him saying, Prophesy who it is that smote thee." "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

It is a relief to turn from all this kind of argument and bitter opposition to outspoken testimony in favour of Christ and Christianity. This is, perhaps, not so common, but it is even more indicative of the real situation. While there are some ready to cry, Away with Him, not this man but Mohammed, others are hailing Christ with glad hosannas as their ideal of character and the hope of humanity. In both cases educated Moslems are compelled to face the fact of the Christ. He is becoming more and more the centre of thought and discussion in the Moslem world.

'Ata Bey Hussiny, in a small volume on political economy and the history of civilization in relation to Islam (Cairo), writes:

"The summary of Jesus' teaching was as follows:

"First, He taught the Jews, who were fanatically inclined against the Roman Government, the fundamental difference between the Church and the State; secondly, He saw that their rulers and chiefs were corrupted by love of money, and therefore taught the duty of giving to the poor and not treasuring upon the earth; thirdly, He saw that the poor were greatly

neglected and despised, so He naturally turned to them, mingling with them and blessing them, and so laying the foundations of the community life; fourthly, He observed that envy was rife, and so He preached in its place the principles of gentleness and forgiveness, saying that the greatest of all sins was 'to allow the sun to set upon your anger against your brother'; fifthly, He saw that there was no fellowship in service, nor compassion, so He commanded to His disciples mutual assistance and service without pay, saying to them, 'Whoso compelleth thee to go one mile, go with him twain.' But the most remarkable thing which our Lord 'Isa commanded was universal love. He did not cease to preach it and proclaim it so that He even said that the whole law and the prophets are fulfilled in love; and His teaching concerning love was so strong that He commanded men to love even their enemies and those that harmed them. This surely is a principle of life higher than all other principles, for everything is established on love; and in love and through love everything revives, and by means of love universal benevolence is completed, for man's love to his brother gives him happiness in this world and hereafter. . . . All this the well-balanced mind accepts and approves of, but the question arises, Is it possible for a man to love his enemies and do good to those that hate him?''

So high are the ideals of Christ, so wonderful the impression created by His personality and His teaching that it startles and awakens incredulity. We must incarnate the teaching of

our Master to win those who ask, "Is it possible?" Only those who live this teaching befor the eyes of Moslems can answer the question put by this type of educated Moslem. Not by controversy and not by argument, but by the Spirit of love will such be won for the Christ whose teaching they have already made their ideal.

Another strong testimony to the character of Christ and Christianity was given recently by the leading Mohammedan jurist in the Punjab, M. Muhammad Shah Din, before the Punjab Historical Society. Speaking of Christ's mission and its place in history, he said:

"We now come to Christianity, the second great historical religion that at the present moment dominates the higher thought of the world and wields its masterful sway over nations who are in the vanguard of civilization. As we contemplate the life of its great Founder with its winning simplicity and its many touching incidents which appeal direct to the human heart, the Master's overflowing sympathy for all forms of suffering and distress, the loving tenderness with which He poured balsam into bleeding wounds, His heroic revolt against the dead formalism of the prevailing creed and the selfish hypocrisy of its priesthood, His unceasing efforts to bring erring humanity back to the paths of honour and virtue, and last of all, His martyrdom in the sacred cause of eternal truth:—as we contemplate these things we feel

that we are face to face with a spiritual force of marvellous potency. Can the historian do full justice to the great Teacher and His high mission if he only describes His personal character, His relations with His disciples, His daily round of life, His many acts of kindness toward the poor and the down-trodden, the general topics of His teachings, and the means by which he sought to impress and educate the conscience of His people? All this is very important in its own way, but it amounts to barely a tithe of the solution of the problem presented by the strange dispensation that was destined to revolutionize the world. To understand Christianity we must study the personality of the great Hebrew seer in its relation to the Jewish race and to the other races of the then known world; we must seek in the social atrophy and moral decadence of those races the need for the birth of a new ethical movement and the secret of the powerful influence which it exercised over their succeeding generations, as a notable link in the chain of the religious evolution of mankind."

Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, in his "Essays Indian and Islamic," says (p. 246): "The prophets and reformers have been and always will be men of like passions with us; with this all important difference, that in them the divine spark was not suffered prematurely to die away. They felt the inward message and determined to carry it out. . . . Socrates condemned as a corrupter of youth; Jesus crucified as a setter-forth of strange things; Mohammed persecuted

for his religious mission. The world, however, only sees at intervals the vision,—the supreme beatific vision of a Socrates, a Jesus, a Mohammed."

Not only does this writer speak of Jesus in such high terms, but he again and again quotes New Testament language with approval. "Is it not religion . . . which falls on dry hearts like rain and which whispers to self-weary, moribund man, 'Thou must be born again?'" "Sons of God," he writes, "have the wisdom of this world as well as of the next; the highest goal in life is 'to become like to God with a pure mind and to draw near to Him and to abide in Him.' (pp. 261-262)." And again: "The governing principle of all religions is the same. In the language of the Apostle James (*sic*), 'Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep one's self unspotted from the world." "This is the burden of all religions," he says, "and this is the burden of Islam." (Pp. 20, 21.)

How great the distance is between this ideal Islam and the reality, we learn from the same book. Who can read the severe criticisms of this educated Moslem on the popular doctrine of Allah—more trenchant than Palgrave's famous characterization—and his plea for the idea of a merciful Father, without realizing that

Christ's character and words have influenced all this new teaching. "God, as fashioned by our co-religionists, is an exact type of an Oriental ruler. It is not love but fear that is more prominently emphasized. He is conceived as vindictive, unmerciful . . . totally uninterested in the human race except in so far that He regards their transgressions with morbid asperity." (Pp. 276-280.)

A few years ago it was my good fortune to be at Kerbela, Turkish Arabia, and to attend the funeral of a *mujtahid* who had died a martyr to Moslem fanaticism. The funeral oration, given in Arabic, was largely a panegyric in words of the New Testament, especially taken from Matthew, chapters 5-7, and Romans 12. All the Christian ideals of virtue were ascribed to the deceased. In the same spirit one of the nationalist daily papers in Cairo translated last year, chapter by chapter, Samuel Smiles' essays on "Character" and on "Self-help" for its readers. Another Cairo paper recently had a signed article by a leading Moslem of Shebin-el-Kom, protesting vigourously against the methods employed by some Moslems in buying back Christian converts; he then paid a very high tribute to the superior moral character of Christians as compared with Moslems.[1] All this shows how the old spirit of fanaticism is dis-

[1] *Misr*, May 14, 1914.

appearing, and how Moslems of the better classes are proud of their new tolerance. Many of them are willing to see fair play in argument.

At the Moslem Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference held in Lucknow (December, 1912), there were many happy proofs of this new attitude toward Christian missions. A reception was tendered the delegates by Reid Christian College and Isabella Thoburn College, and was attended by 200 Moslems. The chairman, Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami, M.D., made a remarkable address praising the efforts of missionary education "from the days of Carey and Marshman . . . education not divorced from moral teaching. . . . The quality of their teaching has been of a very high order and foremost throughout the world" He mentioned among the finest institutions for education in the whole world, the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut and Robert College, Constantinople.

It is still more noteworthy and indicative of this new spirit of tolerance and appreciation that *Al-Mueyyad,* the leading Moslem daily in Cairo and in the Moslem world, welcomed the proposal of a Cairo Christian university and prophesied a great future for it, "although we know that the college will be established in the name of evangelism and be guided by the

missionaries."[1] Most educated Moslems fully understand that the old weapons of intolerance and violence have had their day, and that a new era of liberty and enlightenment has come. When a member of the Legislative Assembly in Egypt demanded, at its first session, that the Ministry of Education should keep watch over mission schools and prevent Christian missionaries from teaching the fundamentals of their faith to Moslem pupils, the demand was mocked and bitterly opposed, so that no action was taken.

"The Mohammedans of Persia recently showed strange inconsistency. For some months there was great opposition in Ispahan to the educational work of the Church Missionary Society. The missionaries were forbidden to open the new school premises, and yet when it was opened the Deputy Governor was present to give away the prizes. Parents and boys were threatened to such an extent that the number of boys attending the college dwindled from eighty to twenty, and then one day in May the chief Mohammedan mullah of the city addressed a crowded congregation in one of the chief mosques and declared that the English had come

[1] *Al-Mueyyad*, June 7, 1914. Cf. on the other hand the bitter attack on Beirut College and the evil results of Christian education that appeared in *Ash-Sha'ab*, a nationalist organ of Cairo, on June 23, 1914.

ST. DAVID'S BUILDING, CAIRO.

This structure now occupies the site formerly used for El Dausa. In this building are the headquarters of the Y.M.C.A., and directly opposite is the Wesleyan Methodist Church and my home. (See illustration opposite page 38.)

to stay, that they were doing a good work, and the people had better not interfere!"

Without, therefore, in any way underestimating the new anti-Christian attitude of some educated Moslems and the pan-Islamic efforts of others to oppose Christian missions by every modern method of attack or defence, it yet remains true that the whole situation is hopeful to the last degree. The light is breaking everywhere.

There never was so much friendliness; such willingness to discuss the question at issue; such a large attendance of Moslems at Christian schools, hospitals, public meetings, and even preaching services as there is today. And this is true in spite of public warnings against having dealings with Christian missionaries, or, as recently in Turkey, systematic attempts to boycott Christians commercially. The American Mission in Egypt has a committee on evangelistic work, which after careful study has just made this report:

"At no time in the history of the Mission has there been such an urgent call for aggressive evangelism among all classes. The special religious awakening among educated Moslems in all parts of Egypt has brought upon us the twofold burden: First, how to deal with convicted and converted Moslems; and, second, how to meet the antagonistic opposition of Moslem societies. This awakening has brought about such

a spirit of inquiry, with the result that an overwhelming number of Mohammedans are prepared to hear the Gospel and to study the Bible, that we find ourselves insufficient in number and equipment to deal successfully with the present situation."

What is true of Egypt is true, *mutatis mutandis,* of Turkey, Persia, India, Algeria, and Java, as abundant testimony and recent missionary correspondence could show. And what does it all mean? It means that we should press forward with all our might plans for the immediate evangelization of these educated classes. They are adrift, and the Gospel alone can give them new anchorage. They are hungry for the friendship that does not patronize and the love that can forgive. They have lost faith in the old Islam and reach out to new ideals in ethics. Who can satisfy them but Christ? This is our supreme opportunity. If we can win these leaders of Moslem thought now, "Reformed Islam will be Islam no longer" but an open door into Christianity.

The Moslem heart and the Moslem world have only one great need—Jesus Christ. In Him is the life and the life is the light of men. "The fresh breath of Jesus," as Jalalu'd Din, the Moslem mystic, called it, is proving and will evermore prove the only real vital force:

"And granite man's heart is till grace intervene
And crushing it clothe the long barren with green,
When the fresh breath of Jesus shall touch the heart's core
It will live, it will breathe, it will blossom once more."

In the present conditions and opportunities that confront the Church of God throughout the whole Moslem world we face a new and grave responsibility. It can only be met by the outpouring of life in loving service, by sacrificial obedience to that last command of our Saviour, and by the immediate, sympathetic, tactful but also fearless and direct proclamation of the Gospel by word and by deed everywhere.

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